

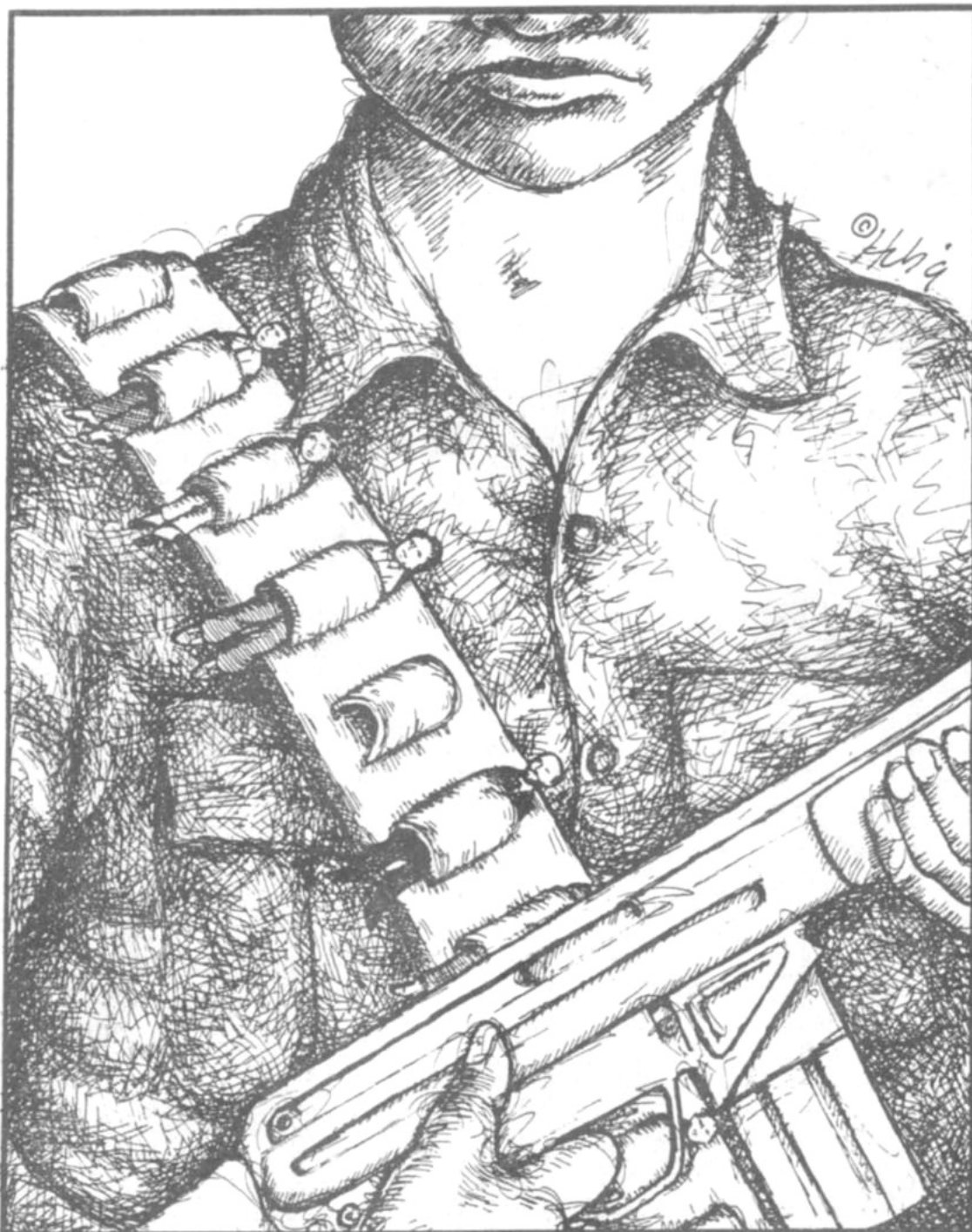
DC Gazette

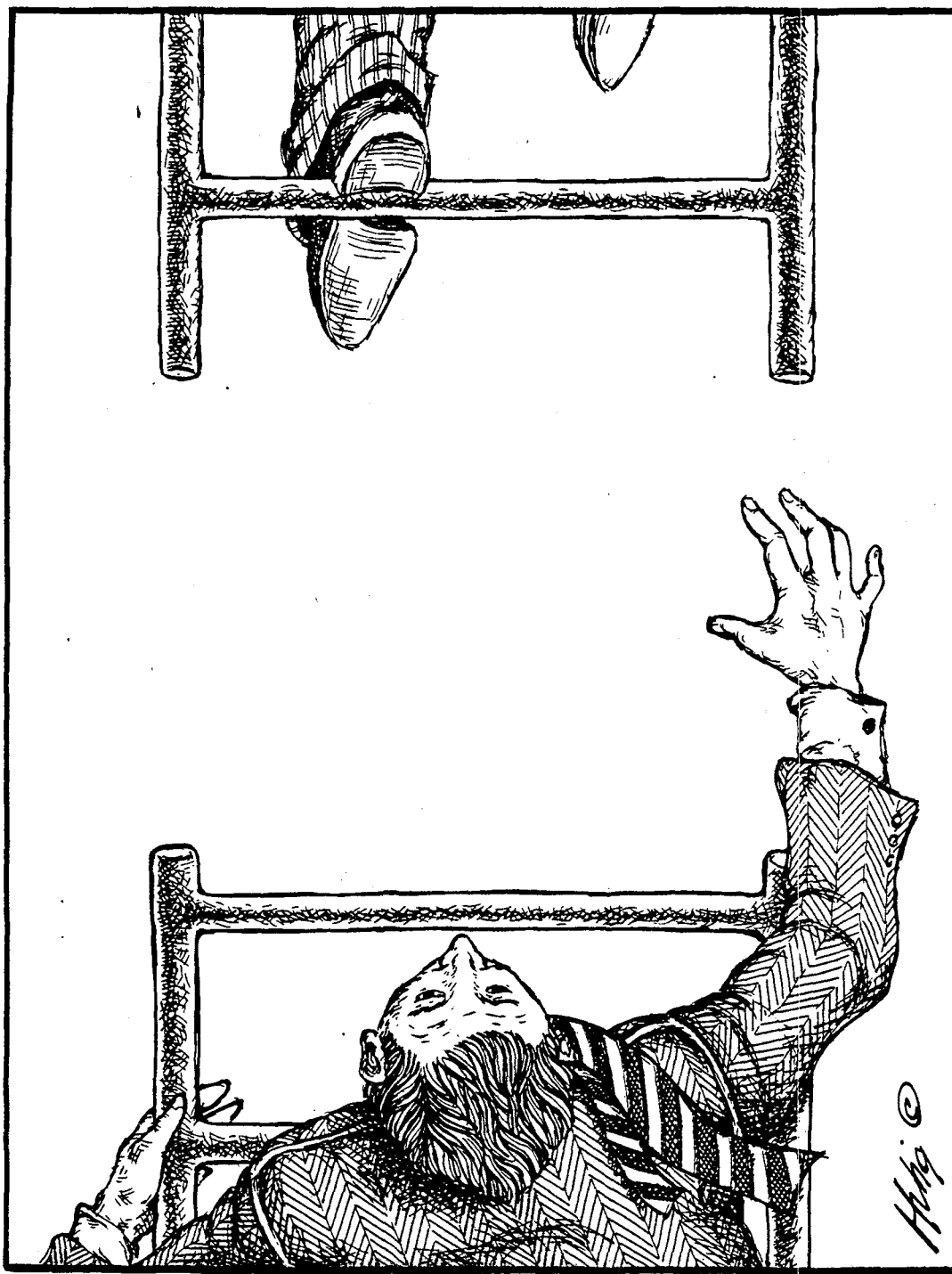
Progressive Politics & Ideas

VOL XIV NR 8

Whole Number 233

OCTOBER 1983





HOW TO KILL A CITIZEN MOVEMENT

Byron Kennard

All I have to do is count my battle scars and recall how I got most of them. If my experience is any guide, far more people are driven out of citizen movements by their own dear brothers and sisters in the cause than by all the shenanigans of the enemy put together.

Here is how it works, Suppose you want to kill a citizen movement and you come to me for expert advice. I would suggest first that you join it, and then proceed to follow these ten basic, simple rules, any one of which will drain the vitality out of a movement faster than you can say Ronald Reagan.

ONE: FORGET YOUR ORIGINS. Citizen movements for social change nearly always originate in humble, obscure, or disreputable circumstances. Think of the Wobblies, the early labor organizers, who were jailed, deported, and even massacred for their opposition to industrial abuses. Think of Rosa Parks refusing to take a seat in the back of the bus. Think of the bra-burners who endured derision and scorn to help launch the feminist movements, or of the housewives who chained themselves to trees rather than allow the trees to be bulldozed. Later on, when the movement is off the ground and running, these origins become embarrassing to the careerists who have latched onto it in search of gold and glory. At this point, it becomes necessary to re-write history in order to drop the identity of the movement's founders down the memory hole.

It is said that revolutions eat their fathers.

Citizen movements do something rather worse: They forget their mothers. The revolutionary who gets beheaded is at least memorialized by history, but you can plow through most history books without finding a clue to the identity of the small bands of volunteer activists -- usually women, in my experience -- who initiated needed social change.

TWO: PUT EXPERTS IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT. Volunteers and generalists may have been good enough to organize the movement, but they aren't good enough to run it. So when money starts to come in, it is time to kick the volunteers and the generalists out and hire "qualified" persons, preferably someone with a Ph.D. in physics, economics, or an Ivy League law degree. (Please note: it is extremely important such persons be untainted by any direct experience in community organizing. If you have a plethora of job applicants, it may be necessary to employ this test. Put each of the applicants into a paper sack. Only those who cannot organize their way out will be eligible for employment.)

THREE: GET SERIOUS ABOUT YOUR WORK. I mean, real serious. Work too hard. Put in extremely long hours. Practice looking grim and depressed. If possible, grow morbid. When you have mastered all this, persist in calling your colleague's attention to your martyrdom. Broadly hint that if they were as serious about the cause as you, they would emulate your example. If this doesn't

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PROGRESSIVE DIGEST



Energy

At a test site near Las Vegas, scientists are building an experimental saltwater pond, which is expected to generate 328,000 kilowatt hours of electricity. The principle is simple: salt water is heavier than fresh water, so it sinks to the bottom of ponds. With the fresh water providing a layer of insulation, the salt water traps the sun's heat, getting hotter and hotter until it actually boils, producing steam to drive a turbine. Israel is already generating electricity from salt ponds near the Dead Sea, and hopes they will provide half the country's electric power by the end of the century.

Politics

GREEN PARTY BACKS MONDALE: The US Green Party, which has been mainly active in California and which is loosely affiliated with the European Green Parties, has announced its support for Walter Mondale for president. Said founder Randy Toler, "Our goal is to get Reagan out of the White House." The party, which recently opened Washington offices at 1710 Conn. Ave. NW, supports the principles of decentralization, self-determination and self-sufficiency.

THE DC GAZETTE

Published ten times a year. Single copies by mail: \$1. Annual Subscription: \$5. The Gazette uses the services of Pacific News Service, Rip'n'Read News Service, College Press Service, Community Press Features and HerSay News Service.

The Gazette welcomes articles and letters but unfortunately can not pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish the material returned.

Deadline for editorial and advertising matter: 15th of the month.

EDITOR: SAM SMITH

CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENTS: Charles McDowell, Eugene McCarthy

CARTOONIST: John Wiebenson

THE DC GAZETTE
1739 Conn. Ave. NW
DC 20009
202-232-5544

HIGH PAID LUNCHES: Our politicians have found a new way to make money -- eating lunch. Capitol Hill lobbyists are slipping them cash in the guise of fees for private discussions -- usually in one of Washington's finer restaurants. Common Cause says senators get up to 2000 bucks just for dining with a small group of lobbyists or corporate executives. The sponsors of these private get-togethers insist that no lobbying takes place, but Common Cause notes that "the good food, the good company, and the \$1000 to \$2000 check all help jog a senator's memory the next time one of those lobbyists or executives wants a phone call returned."

YOU MAY HAVE WON JAMES WATT!: In one of the most bizarre political fund-raising efforts in recent memory, the Republicans have launched their own publishers-clearinghouse-style seepstakes. Entry forms have gone out to more than a million households, informing recipients "you may already be a winner" of \$50,000 in cash, a new car, a vacation trip or a custom-built home. Entrants are asked to send in \$15 to \$100 to the National Republican Congressional Committee, but the contributions are mandatory. The committee calls it a "marketing tool" designed to make money and provide a computer list of contributors for future fund-raising.

PIRGs INFILTRATED?: In a move that may auger a new kind of assault on campus public interest groups, a group of conservative students have tried to infiltrate and change the policies of the statewide Minnesota PIRG board. Though the conservatives failed in their summer attempt, they have already succeeded in gaining control over the smaller Twin Cities PIRG chapter.

Their activities closely resemble tactics for disrupting PIRGS outlined in a College Republican National Committee memo distributed last spring.

Both the national College Republicans and the local conservative insurgents deny any attempt to destroy PIRGS or any coordinated efforts in Minnesota. But PIRGs have long been targets of some conservative groups. The Mid-Atlantic Legal Foundation, a Philadelphia-based conservative group, has sued the New Jersey PIRG over its method of collecting student fees. Last spring, the college Republicans, which is largely funded by the Republican National Committee, reportedly issued a lengthy memo calling on its campus chapters to mount local challenges to the PIRG's funding methods.

At about the same time, 13 conservative University of Minnesota students managed to gain control of the Twin

Cities chapter. MPIRG has been among the most active PIRGs in the country. Its lawsuit questioning the constitutionality of the law requiring male financial aid applicants to register for the draft is now before the US Supreme Court.

HE'S BACK AGAIN: Harold Stassen, who has run in every presidential race since 1948, has announced that he'll be in next year's contest as well. The 76-year-old former Minnesota governor says he wants to appeal to the "creative center" of the electorate.

CITIZENS PARTY REJECTS JACKSON: The Citizens Party, meeting in San Francisco in national convention, rejected the suggestion of 1980 CP presidential candidate Barry Commoner that the party support Jesse Jackson instead of fielding its own candidate. The convention voted 142-30 to meet again in three months to select a candidate. Party favorites reportedly include Ramsey Clark and Sonia Johnson.

POLITICAL BUTTON OF THE MONTH: "Jane Wyman was right."

Health

AERIAL SPRAYING: Residents of northern California are protesting federal plans to increase aerial spraying of national forest land with herbicides that have been linked with miscarriages and birth defects. The US Forest Service wants to cover some 106,000 acres of timberland with 11 herbicides including 2,4,5-T and a related compound, 2,4-D.

The public has raised concern over the years as to a possible link between these chemicals and the occurrence of birth defects. Eight women in Oregon have reported that, in less than six years, they have suffered a total of ten miscarriages -- all occurring within about two months of spraying campaigns in their area.

Similarly, a nurse's aide in California studied the pregnancies of two dozen women in her area, following the spraying of local forest land. Of 24 pregnancies, nine ended in miscarriages, three in a rare type of spontaneous

abortion and one in the birth of a deformed child. Info: Friends of the Earth, San Francisco, 415-981-8634 and the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, San Francisco, 415-981-8634.

The National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health has taken issue with the position of a panel of experts picked by the National Research Council which declared that VDTs were mainly "an annoyance to workers" rather than a public health matter. Although Barry Johnson, an administrator with the NIOSH, said his group agreed that VDTs did not cause cataracts or other permanent eye damage and also did not emit significant amounts of radiation. But he said that we don't know what sort of reversible damage VDTs may do and that more research needed to be done on the compatibility of the VDTs with other office equipment.

The country's leading football helmet manufacturer says costly lawsuits over helmet safety could lead to the death not only of high school football, but of most high school academic programs. Riddell Inc. president Frank Gordon says if helmet makers go under, so could high school football and other sports that depend on football for funds. The industry is on the defensive, says Gordon, because families of injured young football players have sued and won millions of dollars from helmet makers. Gordon says his company has to spend 11 of the 43 dollars it costs to make a helmet for insurance and lawyers.

Housing

For the first time since the Great Depression, the number of Americans who own their own home is declining, down two percent since 1980. Arthur Young, a Census Bureau housing expert, says bank deregulation and federal deficits have pushed mortgage rates beyond the means of more and more families. Young thinks the government is breaking a contract with American workers: "We're telling

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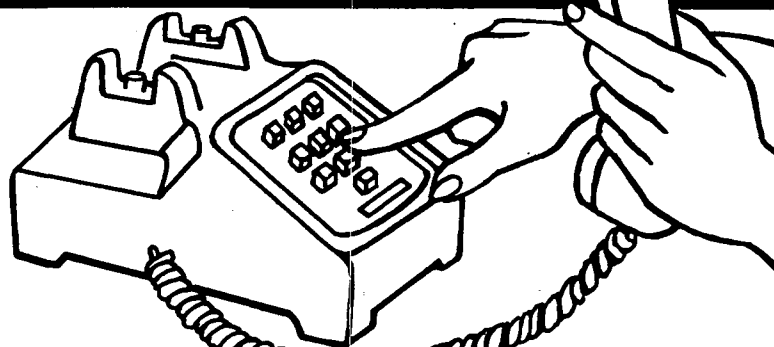
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these people they can't be a part of the system," which he adds, "is social dynamite in a society like ours."

Shelter Costs

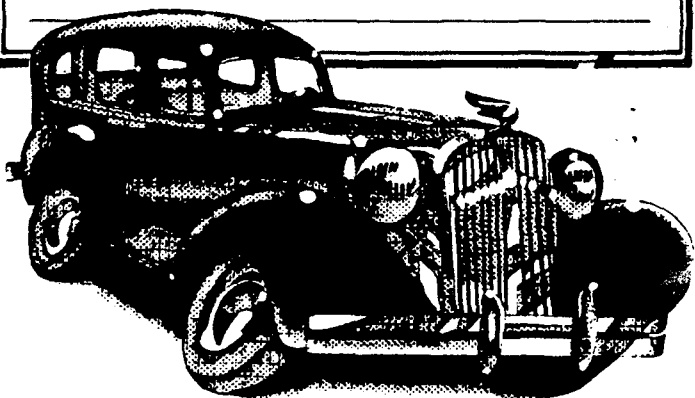
	Change 1970-80
Median renter income	+22.1%
Median rent	+63.2%
Median owner income	+49.6%
Median monthly cost	
Mortgaged	+56.5%
Unmortgaged	+60.0%
[Figures in constant dollars. Source: Low Income Housing Coalition]	

Women

LOS ANGELES ELECTS: On July 1, Pat Russell was elected the first woman president of the Los Angeles city council.

WOMENS COLLEGES: Studies conducted by the University of California and the Washington-based American Council on Education show women who attend small, private, sexually-segregated schools are more likely to become scientists and doctors, and pursue careers not historically open to women. A recent survey by Commonweal magazine noted that almost half the women in the House of Representatives,

THE CLASSIFIEDS



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DIALOGUE is a monthly newsjournal of Community, Nonviolence and Social Ecology. FREE 3 month sample with this ad. DIALOGUE, 1439 Urania, New Orleans La. 70130.

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one of the two women cabinet members, and many state and local office-holders come from small Catholic women's colleges. Researchers believe that women's colleges encourage students to take classes they might otherwise avoid. In fact, one Mount Holyoke professor noted bluntly that the students "are not allowed simply to be teachers or nurses. they are told, at least implicitly, that they must be doctors and professors.

Columbia College, the last of the all-male Ivy League schools, closed the books on tradition last month and admitted women for the first time in its 229 history. Over three hundred women joined the student body.

The US Food and Drug Administration is warning doctors about possible problems linked to the use of Bendectin, an FDA-approved product used to treat morning sickness. The FDA is now pointing to studies showing an increased rate of a stomach deformity among infants whose mothers took Bendectin.

A plan to order female health workers to register for the draft may be nearing a test in the Congress. Observers predict the Reagan administration will submit an amendment to the selection service act that will allow the drafting of female doctors and nurses on presidential orders. An army representative says the proposal is aimed at easing an anticipated shortage of health workers in the event of war. The plan has been endorsed in principle by the American Medical Association but is being opposed by the American Nurses Association. A representative of that group told HerSay News Service that "We have looked at this proposal and have determined that in the absence of an equal rights amendment it would not be appropriate to select women in health careers for the draft."

MS.STAKE: A superior court judge in Contra County, California, has overturned a local school board policy requiring students under 18 to get parental permission to read Ms. magazine in school libraries. The Mount Diablo Unified School District had adopted the policy in 1980.

Back in 1973, NASA administrator Chuck Berry told MS. magazine that on long-distance flights astronaut crews would be confined for nearly a year and, like normal human beings, would want sex. Concluded Berry, it would therefore be "unrealistic" to plan future excursions without considering the "problem of women." He insisted that women would be "fully operational crew members...not only there for sex."

Shop Talk

AUDOBON CANCELS MOVE TO DC: The National Audobon Society has cancelled its planned move to Washington because it could not reach an agreement with its New York City landlord to let it out of its lease. With a glut of office space in Manhattan, the society can't sublet its present space. The society may still consider moving at the expiration of its lease in 1986.

MICHAEL TOTTON: Named director of the Critical Mass Energy Project. He was formerly energy advisor to Rep. Claudine Schneider (R-RI).

RIF

Like everyone else in these Reagan years, the Gazette is being forced to scrimp to get by. We have reluctantly dropped many of our columns and syndicated features for the duration. In no case was this done because we didn't like them; to the contrary this was as unpleasant a choice for us as it will be to many readers.



Media

TV MAYHEM: According to the National Coalition on Television Violence, the first quarter of 1983 was the most violent ver on TV, with an average of ten beatings, brawls, murders, rapes and so on every hour of prime time. The worst offenders were NBC's "A Team," with 40 violent acts per episode, followed by ABC's "High Performance" and CBS's "Wizards and Warriors."

WIN TO FOLD: Sad news from the wonderful people at the Workshop In Nonviolence in NYC, publishers of WIN, one of the best of the movement publications. They send word that after seventeen years of publication financial pressures are forcing them to close shop after a fall issue. WIN is ending publication with a large debt which it is hoping to partially erase through sales of its annual Peace and Freedom cards. You can order an assortment of 12 cards with four original designs by progressive artists for \$4 each plus \$1 postage. Ten or more sets are \$3 each postpaid. These cards are done in the spirit of the holidays but can be used all year around. There is no writing inside and envelopes are included. You can also obtain a copy of the last issue of WIN by sending \$2. Orders go to WIN, 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn NY 11217.

Drugs

The Reagan administration wants private pilots to enlist in the war against marijuana growers but some fliers are calling the idea dumb and dangerous. In July, 10,000 registered pilots in the state of Washington received letters asking them to "please be alert for the presence of marijuana plots in rural areas." The letter gave a toll-free number and some tips on aerial pot-spotting, including a warning about the "possibility of gunfire." US Attorney John Lamp, who sent the letter, says the idea is to turn the pilots into "eyes in the sky." But the pilots claim they're more like sitting ducks. As one said, "He's put us all into risk. I don't want to be shot at by some guy who thinks I'm working for the Justice Department."

Peace

Most opinion polls show the American public is against US involvement in a war in Central America but President Reagan reportedly as a private poll that shows the public would support sending troops to the region to prevent an influx of "feet people" coming to the US.

Men

MEN AND DIAPERS: a Gallup survey of 645 pregnant women and new mothers found that nearly 80% of husbands are with their wives during childbirth, up from 27% ten years ago. four out of five husbands change diapers and two out of five help with the baby's bath. Further, one out of four husbands will be primarily responsible for the child's care when the mother returns to work.

Justice

DEATH PENALTY: The University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center reports that a survey of 1500 adults found that 73% support capital punishment. The death penalty is backed by 80 percent of whites and 50 percent of blacks. This is a dramatic increase in support since 1972 when only 53% approved of capital punishment.

Minorities

BLACK STUDENT SCORES RISING: A study by the National Assessment of Education Progress shows that test scores of blacks 9-17 are coming closer to those of white students of the same age. University of North Carolina psychology professor Lyle Jones, who directed the study, reports that the 1969 20-point gap between blacks and whites had been closed to ten points. The trend coincides with a steady six-year improvement in SAT scores for blacks and other minority students. Jones says the closing of the gap "is certainly not due to any one thing." He attributes it to the panoply of social and political changes of the last two decades.

BLACK COLLEGE PERCENTAGE DECLINES: The proportion of college-aged blacks who got bachelor's degrees in 1980 was actually lower than in 1975 reports Johns Hopkins sociologist William Trent. But the percentage seems to be rising. Meanwhile, latinos earned 4000 more degrees than in 1975 but still represent just 2% of all degrees granted.

	BLACKS	WHITES
Median income of black families as a % of white family income 1960	55%	
1981	56%	
% of children living in poverty 1981	45%	14.7%
Families headed by person with college degree earning more than \$40,000 a year	18.1%	35.5%
Families headed by a woman	47.1%	13.9%

[From a study by the Center for the Study of Social Policy.]

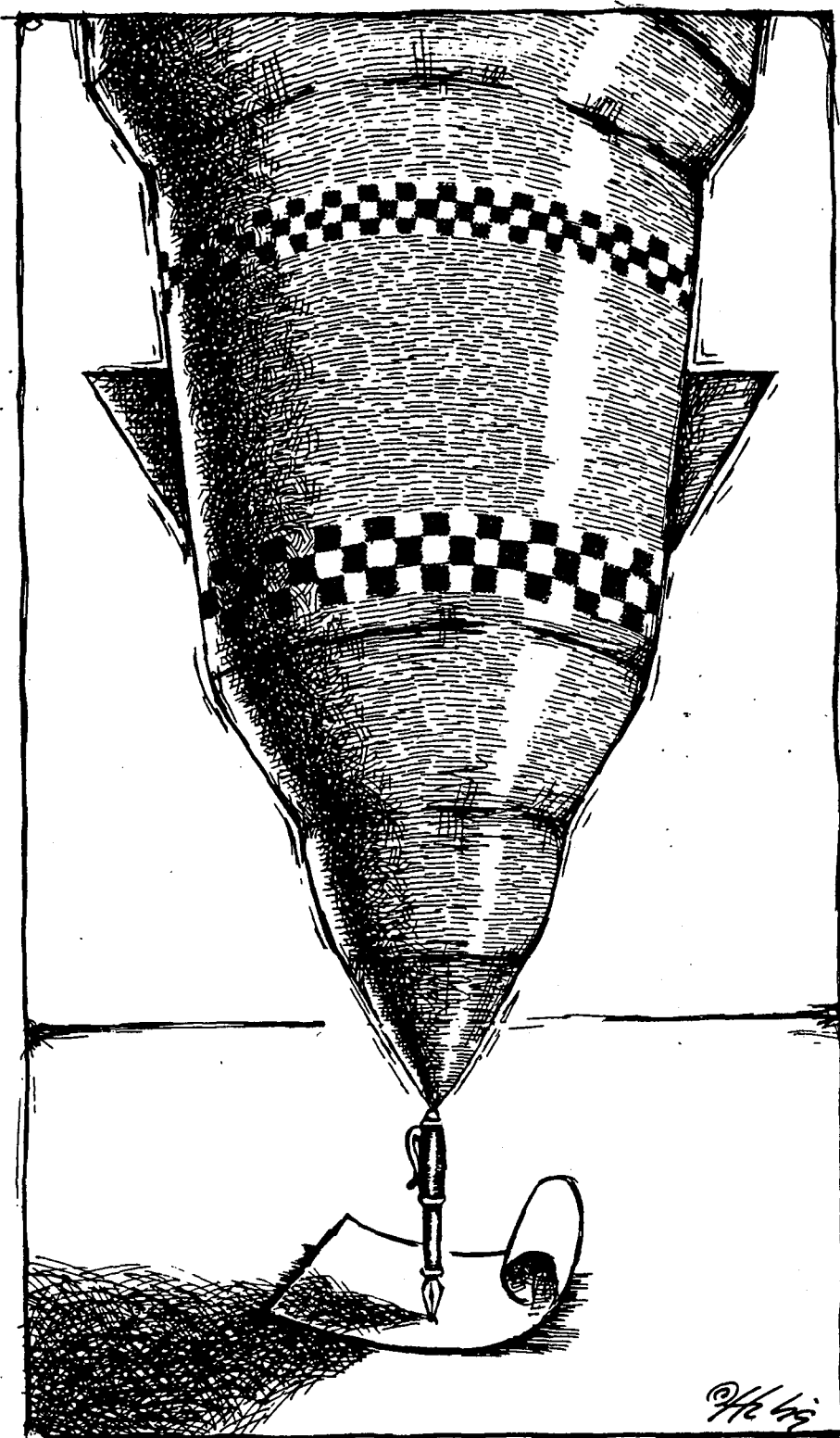
Health

A new federal study has concluded that tougher laws are not the answer to the problem of drunk driving. University of New Mexico sociologist Lawrence Ross says the experience in Scandinavia indicates that mandatory prison terms are only a short-term deterrent. Grassroots groups such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving are "fundamentally misguided," Ross says, because they concentrate on reprisals rather than reducing drunk driving. As long as society encourages widespread use of alcohol and provides little alternative to the private automobile, Ross says people will "do it and do it again."

Approval Voting

APPROVAL VOTING: Approval voting, a system by which voters could vote for as many candidates in a multi-candidate race as they want to, is being studied by a number of states. We have reported on this previously and continue to be enthusiastic about it as one means of mitigating some of the absurdities of the present system, which can produce minority winners simply because they won a larger minority than anyone else. With approval voting we could deal with the conundrum discussed in Topics this month i.e. you like McGovern but think Mondale stands a much better chance of winning. Under the present system many people go with Mondale thus producing an understatement of the support for McGovern and his positions.

The Committee for Creative Nonviolence reports that the federal government has enough food in storage to give each of America's 32 million poor fourteen pounds of butter, 26 pounds of cheese, 43 pounds of dry milk, and 62 pounds of rice. It costs about a million dollars a day to keep the food in storage and a lot of it simply spoils. Some is sold as animal feed and some is just thrown away. [CCNV, 202-332-4332]



A Quaker response to the downing of 007

*An excerpt from a statement by
the American Friends Service Committee*

We strongly protest and condemn the deliberate Soviet military attack on a civilian aircraft, an attack which its perpetrators knew must result in the deaths of innocent children, women and men. There can be no explanation to justify so brutal an act.

In itself the incident represents an issue of the safety of international civilian air transport. We call on the United Nations and the International Civil Aviation Organization to meet urgently to develop aviation norms, regulations, and safeguards so that an off-course civilian aircraft will never again be subject to military attack, whatever the airspace it may enter.

The incident, even though it involved the downing of a Korean airliner by the Soviet Union, occurring in the context of a cold war between two superpowers has inevitably been seen as part of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. confrontation. Undoubtedly that confrontation was a decisive factor in the Soviet order to attack. While we are grateful for the apparent moderation to date of the response by the U.S. government, we are made fearful by President Reagan's use of the incident in hate-mongering against the Soviet Union and in pushing for a greater increase in arms production by the United States.

However regrettable, nations--all nations--are likely to measure morality and even the value of human life against perceived national interests and security, and the latter are almost always overriding when in conflict with the former. The United States has charged the Soviets with untruth in its declarations on the incident; yet the United States has also occasionally been found falsely to deny facts of international import, for example, before the United Nations in relation to U.S. involvement in the Bay of Pigs attack on Cuba, and in relation to use of U-2 spy planes over the Soviet Union. The United States has charged the Soviets with a barbaric disregard for human life in the attack; yet the United States has been able to call a reduction to 5,000 civilian deaths by government forces in a year in Guatemala a significant improvement in human rights.

What is needed now is not more anti-Soviet, or anti-American, rhetoric, not more arms, not the deployment of more missiles that will cut available response time even further. What is needed is increased dialogue and understanding, a reduction in tension between the governments and peoples of East and West. Without the threat or perceived threat from the other side, without the practice of testing the other side's defenses by close approaches or violations of airspace by military aircraft, without a continuous build-up of offensive arms, a nation might be able rationally to conclude that a civilian aircraft entering its airspace was nothing more than a plane off course, which should be assisted safely to its destination.

The cost to the passengers and crew of Korean Airlines Flight 007 of the tension and suspicion between the United States and the Soviet Union has been their very lives. But there are costs to others as well. One is in the security of each person--the next incident could well be one in which an inadvertent act by one side, or even by an actor not linked to either side, would call forth a response vastly destructive of an entire city or nation, with further retaliation inevitable. Another cost is to people struggling for change in their own societies, whose struggles almost routinely are identified, and intensified, as elements in the East-West competition. Yet another is to the growth and development of communities around the world, as priorities and resources are devoted to military procurement and personnel and harsh repression applied to prevent or destroy dissent. Even without overt repression, cold war psychology, as we in the United States know from the 1950's, can chill or destroy creative social change movements. The poor of the Soviet Union and of the United States presently feel the pain of the competition of their governments in lost services and lost opportunities for growth.

The shooting down of the Korean airliner with its loss of innocent life clarifies the importance of the movements for peace and disarmament being undertaken by people around the world. The incident demonstrates the inevitable consequences of militarization and extreme nationalism and must give new energy and determination to those of us who are concerned for peace and the lives of all people. A nuclear freeze and then arms reduction, peace movements that show governments a new vision of security, communities that demand justice and human rights--these must take new strength and win their ends. And in the process the United States and the Soviet Union must come to understand their right places in the world, not as owners and managers of half the globe, but as members of a society of diverse, dignified, and independent peoples.

We mourn for the victims of the Korean airliner shot down; we mourn for all the victims of a world divided by two superpowers between themselves. We have a vision of a day when military competition, domination, and threat will be discarded in favor of mutual understanding, peaceful cooperation, and the pursuit of justice, and we will continue to work toward that vision.

FINDING OUT MORE

With thanks to WIN,
Jericho and others.

Justice

Research on non-Black minorities in the criminal justice and corrections systems is sparse. Two recent publications have begun to bridge this gap. **The Hispanic Experience of Criminal Justice** by Peter L. Sissons is available from the Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University, Bronx, NY 10458. Sissons notes an increasing commitment of Hispanics to New York prisons. A study of Hispanic involvement in Federal courts, and policy recommendations, are also included. **Indians and Criminal Justice**, edited by Laurence French, includes articles on the economics of Indian crime, the Indian Task Force report on Indian justice and law enforcement, American Indian tribal courts, and Native American prison survival schools. It is available from Littlefield Adams and Co., 81 Adams Drive, Totowa, NJ 07512 for \$22.95.

The National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives has published a booklet, **Violent Crime: Who Are the Victims?**, containing papers examining the state of Black victimization in the U.S. In his introduction, editor Lee Brown, now Chief of Police in Houston, TX, urges NOBLE "to articulate the fact that there is more than a casual relationship between crime in the black community and the conditions under which many blacks must live; that crime is the natural consequence of the social, economic and political system of this country; and that as long as there exist unequal means of achievement, there will always be crime." Copies of this booklet can be obtained from NOBLE, 8401 Corporate Drive, Suite 360, Landover, MD 20785; 301/459-8344 for \$5.04.

County Jails

Although all of us who live in county seats are within shouting distance of a county jail, very little is known of these institutions, which are usually invisible to the public. Thirty-five percent of our old, and approximately 6.2 million people pass through them each year. The Spring 1983 issue of *Fortune News* adds the following facts about county jails:

- 77 % have no medical facilities.
- 81% of jail inmates are housed in less than 60 square feet each.
- 70% of the 6.2 million are incarcerated for nonviolent crimes.
- 40% are in jail awaiting trial, the majority because they cannot afford bail.
- Some 25 to 40% are in jail for being drunk in public.
- Of the 6.2 million, 600,000 are mentally ill.
- More than 500,000 juveniles are detained each year in adult jails.
- The average cost of housing one person in jail for a year is currently \$12,000.

If you would like to do something about your local county jail, *The Little Red Jail Book* provides information to help individuals study local jails and suggestions for ways to bring about change. Copies are \$3.50 each from: AFSC, 2160 Lake St., San Francisco, CA 94121.

Crime and criminal justice in colonial and post-colonial third world countries has been largely ignored. Colin Sumner, however, has recently collected a series of papers originally presented at the 1979 Cambridge Criminology Conference on crime and justice in the third world. In **Crime, Justice and Underdevelopment**, articles examine the use of penal sanctions, the development and adaptation of colonial laws, property crime, popular justice and dispute settlement in Papua, New Guinea, and justice and social change in Cuba. For information on obtaining a copy, write to Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., 22 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3HH.

Larry M. Fehr, Executive Director of the Washington Council on Crime and Delinquency, has prepared a report on **"The Disproportionate Representation of Racial Minorities in the Criminal Justice System of Washington State."** Copies are free and can be obtained from WCCD, 407 Lowman Building, 107 Cherry Street, Seattle, WA 98104; 206/624-3421.

El Salvador

Beyond Washington's military and economic assistance to the Salvadoran government, there is another side to the story of US aid in El Salvador.

It involves direct help from American professionals and thousands of dollars in medical supplies—and its recipients are not government officials, but the guerrillas who are fighting them. Backing the aid campaign is a coast-to-coast network of organizations which tap opposition here to US policy in Central America.

To hear a taped summary of pending high-priority legislative issues, call (202) 638-6859. ADA's legislative department updates the recording regularly.

Two US-based organizations—the Committee for Health Rights and Medical Aid for El Salvador—have channelled over \$250,000 to the guerrillas for clinics and other health facilities. Additional large contributions are expected from a fund-raising tour by an American physician who returned recently after a year behind guerrilla lines.

"Gifts of medicine from people in the United States help the Salvadoran peasants draw a clear distinction between the people and the government of the United States," Dr. Charles Clements said. A 37-year-old former combat pilot in Vietnam, Clements has been working with some 10,000 civilians in the guerrilla zone of Guazapa, 25 miles north of San Salvador.

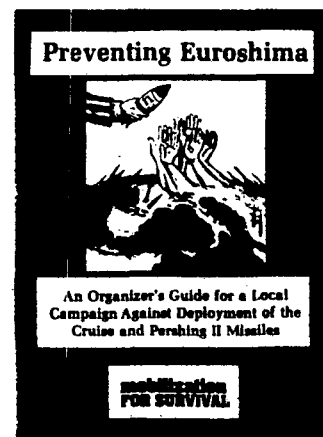
Dr. Jeffrey Ritterman, a Califor-

nia cardiologist who helped found Medical Aid for El Salvador, commented that "we've been able to get small shipments of antibiotics, anesthetics and other supplies through in the past. Today it's very difficult to move anything into El Salvador. We've been forced to send cash so that the guerrillas can purchase medicines on the black market. That's unfortunate because, for example, one surgical anesthetic that costs \$2.50 a vial in the US might run from \$50 to \$100 on the black market."

A "people-to-people" campaign conducted by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) on behalf of the medical aid effort "has raised \$30,000 in cash and \$150,000 in pledges over the last two months," according to CISPES's Mary Ann Buckley.

While most aid efforts focus on

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Also available through ADA:

- ☐ **Beyond the Nuclear Freeze,** the new book by ADA's President, Robert F. Drinan. The Seabury Press, New York. 170 pages. \$7.95 plus \$1.50 handling charge.

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El Salvador, opposition from Americans to the not-so-secret US-supported war against Nicaragua has inspired the medical community in the San Francisco Bay area to contribute over \$250,000 worth of hospital equipment and supplies to a Nicaraguan hospital.

Contact: Salvadoran Medical Relief Fund, PO Box 1194, Salinas, CA 93902; Medical Aid for El Salvador, Box 3282, Los Angeles, CA 90028, and CISPES, PO Box 12056, Washington, DC 20005. —PNS



Drawing by Erika Weihs/WIN.

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NICARAGUAN PERSPECTIVES is a journal published three or four times a year that features articles by people who have lived or worked in Nicaragua. Single copies are \$3 each, subscriptions \$10 from the Nicaraguan Information Center PO Box 1004, Berkeley CA 94701

'Lesbian Mothers and Their Children:' New booklet from the Lesbian Rights Project provides legal advice and a listing of resources and information on lesbian parenting. Lesbian Rights Project, 1370 Mission St. (4th flr), San Francisco CA 94103.

'Nine to Five: The Working Woman's Guide to Office Survival,' is coming out from Penguin this month (\$5.95). Written by 9-to-5 founders, Ellen Cassedy and Karen Nussbaum, the book outlines the major issues of women office workers and presents a bill of rights to deal with them.

'Government by Contract,' (Norton \$17) by John Hanrahan tells the story of the secret government of contractors, consultants, think-tanks and the like that not only use up about a quarter of the federal budget but have a lot to say about how we are governed. Hanrahan rings the alarm about an issue to people think about.

'Building Neighborhood Organizations: A Guidebook Sponsored by the National Association of Neighborhoods.' (Univ. of Notre Dame Press). Written by Milton Kotler (formerly of NAM and the author of 'Neighborhood Government' — an excellent work on the subject published in the 70s) is one of the gurus of the neighborhood movement. We haven't seen this book yet, but it should be worth a read.

ECONOMICS

The US Census Bureau reports that the national poverty level reach 15% in 1982— the highest level since 1965. Women headed more than 45% of all families living in poverty.

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Computer Networking

TERRI TOLES

In a highly technological culture, it comes as no surprise that individuals occasionally turn to technology to extend their channels of communication. By doing so, we provide new arenas for forging links across a complex society. The idea of maintaining a sense of community through technological means is not new: AT&T's advertising campaigns have for some time urged consumers to augment their personal relationships by using their phones to "reach out and touch someone."

What is new, however, is the use of technology to create a relationship that had not previously existed. More and more, people are interacting solely with the aid of some device: I have "telephone relationships" with people I've never met, for example. Many of these mediated ties today involve the computer, since the combination of increased processing power and rapidly-falling prices has brought computer power within the reach of many individuals. The Timex/Sinclair 1000 computer retails for less than \$40 in some outlets, and many stores now include a line of computers along with the tape decks, video recorders and television sets in their electronics departments. The United States alone accounts for over 80% of the 1.5 million "personal" computers on the planet, and about six percent of American homes now own some sort of computer.

Many microcomputer owners use their machines to communicate with one another by using telephone lines to connect their computers with one another in order to share resources such as programs or database information through a computer network. In addition to sending electronic mail, subscribers to CompuServe Information Service (Columbus, Ohio) or The Source (McLean, Virginia) can "chat" with one another if both are connected to the system at the same time, post classified ads, play games, or gain access to a wealth of informational database services. Databases include everything from the unedited UPI newswire to wines-of-the-world, from computerized airline reservations to electronic I Ching readings, from business programs to games for preschoolers. Both nationwide services allow computer owners to link their personal computers into the central database system for fees ranging from \$5 to \$20 per hour.

"Mass Computing"

In the same way that network television attempts to provide entertainment programming that will appeal to a broad segment of the public, these groups present a broad number and variety of databases in order to attract the greatest number of subscribers. As mass market information services, CompuServe and The Source operate as profit-making organizations dependent on their appeal to a consumer. They are mainstream organizations: The Source is owned by Reader's Digest and CompuServe is a subsidiary of H&R Block. In order to maintain a degree of control over the information in their databases, both firms locate information in a highly secure central computer and maintain strict guidelines concerning the content of messages appearing in public database areas: no obscene or otherwise offensive statements are permitted, for example. However, private communications are not censored.

In contrast to the services offered by "mass" systems like The Source and CompuServe, some community organizations have begun offering small-scale computer database and networking systems with local orientations. These groups stress building community ties and establishing links among people, so that the computer as a technology often becomes subsidiary to the goals of the group. San Francisco's CommuniTree Group, for example, sells computer software and operates a public bulletin board network aimed at extending computer power to socially, economically and technologically disenfranchised

segments of the population. Menlo Park's ComputerTown USA project hopes to teach computer literacy skills to every member of the community, and to do so, the group has placed microcomputers in settings like senior citizens centers, boys clubs, pizza parlors and libraries in order to facilitate public access to the machines.

An important aspect of these projects concerns the degree to which users control the information on the system. While it is not a computer network, Denver's Office for Open Network utilizes a computer to help establish and maintain links among individuals, and the users themselves retain control over what is entered into the database. Similarly, Berkeley's Community Memory Project has placed computer terminals in a variety of public locations in order to allow residents to use computer technology for themselves. Users of all four (free) networks enter messages, classified ads, community information and even poetry into the computer for others to read.

Communicating in the Vernacular

These groups, often growing from alternative technology efforts, depend on a participatory decision-making process where members of the community decide what information they would like included, rather than submitting to decisions imposed by some external agency. In this way, they are like vernacular languages, those speech patterns that grow from the people themselves and that shape how people actually like and govern their own lives. In Latin, *vernaculum* was used to indicate that something was homegrown or homemade.

While the mass and vernacular types of computer networks share certain characteristics (both subject communication to the constraints imposed by computer technology, for instance), their ideological structures provide a sharp difference between them. These differences also point to the flexibility of computer technology: The future development of computing is not set in stone. If one begins with the assumption that the social arrangements of technology represent physical manifestations of human values, it follows that variations in those arrangements can affect social behavior by altering the form and content of cultural practices.

Computers alter the ways we communicate with one another. When you "talk" to someone via a computer, both persons are merely disembodied lines of type appearing on a screen. You can be anonymous, or adopt a pseudonym, and some people have even adopted fictional personae and played roles in a sort of ongoing electronic improvisational theatre. Computers have the potential to democratize communication, if they are used in a social context that permits such an activity to take place.

The kinds of communication found in the vernacular, and in some portions of the mass, computer networks is reminiscent of the coffeehouses of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, where convivial discussion and close friendship flourished. The coffeehouses served as central information centers where they located not only because of their ties to the emerging popular press, but also because of the free and democratic atmosphere that permeated them. They not only served as a place to gather information on many topics, they also provided office space, a place to meet friends or clients, warm drink and appetizing food, fireplaces that sheltered one from the elements and a place to spend a few hours away from the demands of family or work.

According to Richard Sennett in *The Fall of Public Man*, "As information centers, the coffeehouses were naturally places in which speech flourished. When a man entered the door, he went first to the bar, paid a penny, was told, if he had not been to the place before, what the rules of the house were . . . and then sat down to enjoy himself. That in turn was a matter of talking to other people, and the talk was governed by a cardinal rule: in order for information to be as full as

possible, distinctions of rank were temporarily suspended; anyone sitting in the coffeehouse had a right to talk to anyone else, to enter into any conversation, whether he knew the other people or not, whether he was bidden to speak or not. It was bad form even to touch on the social origins of other persons when talking to them in the coffeehouse, because the free flow of talk might then be impeded."

Such rules for behavior certainly characterize the kinds of communication that take place through the computer. The electronic communities that are formed are sustained by the continued exchange of messages by a number of individuals, with no distinction made for any status they may hold in their other roles. The state of membership in the electronic community is the only credential that matters: more than one individual has found herself in lengthy discussions concerning highly sophisticated concepts only to discover that the person on the other end of the connection was a nine-year-old. The computer appears to facilitate a "rowdy democracy" where all participants have some weight in the outcome of discussions—an electronic coffeehouse.

Despite the potential of the microcomputer for extending democratic communication, to date computers have largely been used to conserve our social institutions, preserving them from enormous pressures for change, and centralizing the patterns of power and control in society. The social arrangements of computer technology have discouraged the formation of electronic communities.

Toward Egalitarian Communications

Yet, the rise of vernacular computing points to a reversal in this trend. Subscribers to mass systems have petitioned CompuServe and The Source to allow them greater freedom in their entries in the database. Special interest groups—clubs that provide a forum for subscribers who share an interest in a topic to engage in debate and discussion about the issue—and electronic magazines written by the subscribers have been added to both systems. Subscribers have taken more control over their patterns of communication.

Communication via computer could provide important links among formerly disassociated groups, and might contribute to the lessening of the gap between the "information rich" and the "information poor." However, computers can also serve as a prime tool for the further development of an information elite, since computer users have an edge in getting access to information and manipulating data. Already, computer owners reflect dominant societal groups: they are overwhelmingly white male professionals with at least some college education. Among the groups not buying computers at present are women, ethnic minorities, those with little education, people whose jobs have a low information content, and the elderly.

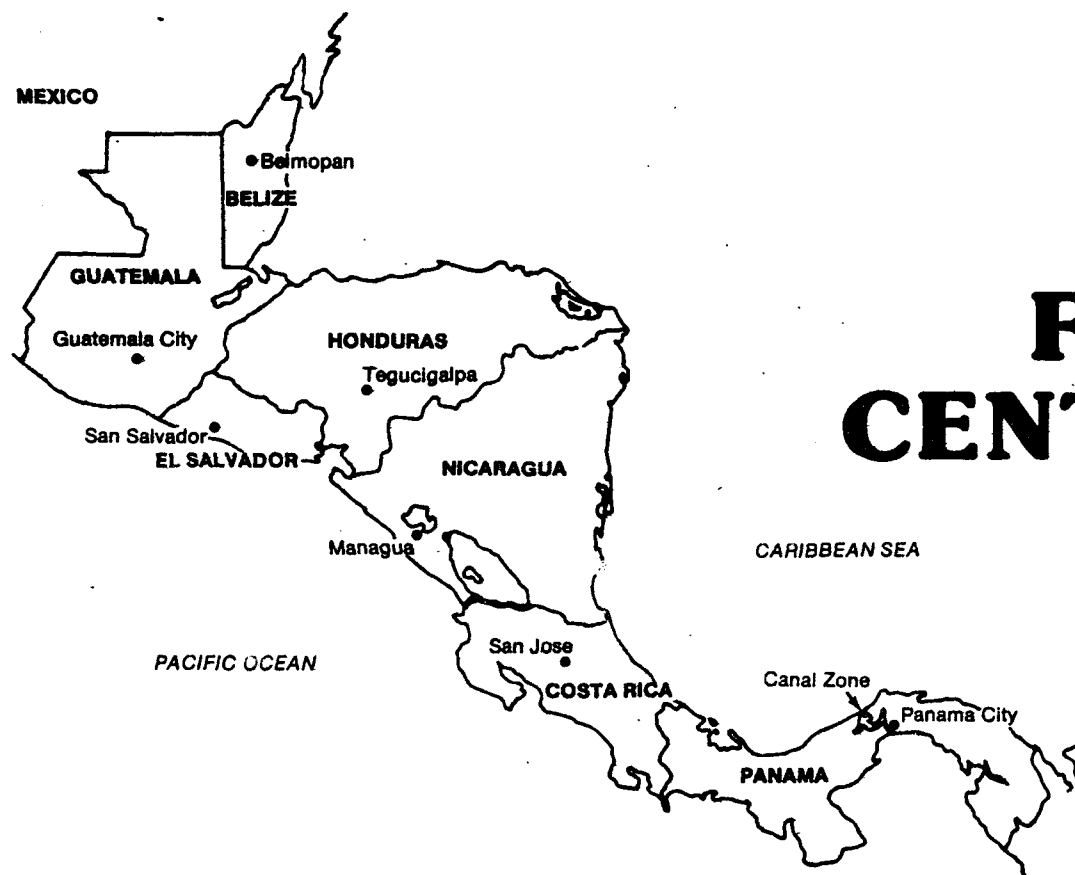
The real issue that underlies any discussion of communications and computer technology concerns the world we are building for our future. Electronic communication can become part of a mindless push-button panorama or a forum for meaningful social interaction. The shape of the future depends on the dreams and values we choose to embody in today's technology. □



The women mayors of some 90 cities are scheduled to meet in Washington this January, the first such conference ever held.

Back in the business and finance section of the Washington Post, we were told that President Reagan called FCC chair Mark Fowler to the White House to discuss the FCC's efforts to relax the rule governing television, program finance and syndication. There is some dispute as to whether Fowler gave a briefing or received an arm-twisting. Which is why such ex-parte discussions were once heavily frowned-upon for members of allegedly-independent and quasi-judicial commissions.

Terri Toles is director of the Imagination Project, based in Philadelphia. This article from WIN Magazine.



FACT SHEET ON CENTRAL AMERICA

This fact sheet was prepared by the National Impact Education Fund, 100 Md. Ave. NE DC 20002

Nicaragua

The most controversial aspect of U.S. policy in Central America has been our secret aid to counterrevolutionary groups that are invading Nicaragua from training camps in Honduras. When it originally authorized the covert operations in March 1981, the Administration limited actions to "interdicting" the flow of arms from Nicaragua to guerrillas in El Salvador. But a November 1981 National Security Council decision expanded that mission to include "harassment" of the Nicaragua government, and now Administration policy seems to call for the destabilization of the Managua regime.

Military and Economic Pressure from the U.S.

United States relations with Nicaragua have deteriorated alarmingly under the Reagan Administration. U.S. policy has been two-pronged: military confrontation through covert assistance to the counterrevolutionaries and economic pressure in any manner available.

Militarily, the primary recipient of U.S. support is the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN), a coalition made up of former members of Somoza's National Guard and some Miskito Indians. Their program for Nicaragua calls for a rollback of agrarian reform, including the return of properties confiscated from Somoza, and also condemns the Sandinista's award winning literacy campaign as a Marxist-Leninist plot. With U.S. help, the FDN has escalated their night raids, ambushes and skirmishes with the Nicaraguan militia.

The Administration has also declared economic war against the Sandinistas. Just days after he took office, Reagan "temporarily suspended" \$15 million of the reconstruction aid package of \$75 million designed by the Carter Administration. The suspension became permanent. In March 1981, all credit to Nicaragua for purchasing wheat was suspended. The Administration has also voted against, stalled, or tried to block international development loans to Nicaragua from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Most recently, the U.S. cut Nicaragua's sugar import quota by 90 percent. Sugar is one of Nicaragua's most important sources of foreign exchange.

President Reagan suggests that the economic pressure and the U.S. sponsored invasion will prompt the Sandinista government to "go back to its revolutionary promises." But such tactics do little to encourage the Sandinistas to maintain a mixed economy, a pluralistic political system and basic guarantees of press and religious freedom.

Troubles Since the Revolution

Economically the Sandinistas were crippled by Somoza's legacy: an empty treasury and a \$582 million debt. They honored the debt, negotiated a 12-year repayment program and have never failed to make a payment. But the economic quagmire has forced the government to impose price and currency controls, which restrict profits and financing. Nonetheless, 70 percent of the economy has been left in private hands and 80 percent of their exports come from the private sector.

Politically the Sandinistas have promised to hold elections by 1985. In order to start the electoral organizing and campaign period in 1984, legal instruments to guarantee a fair process will have to be put in place soon. This approaching deadline could be the watershed that determines the political flexibility and direction of the revolution. Right now, most of the nation's 11 political parties, ranging from conservative to communist, are skeleton organizations. Meaningful elections would require more freedom to organize and promote ideas than the Sandinistas have allowed so far.

Press freedom has been curtailed since March 1982, when the government declared a state of emergency after counterrevolutionaries blew up two bridges and attempted to sabotage an oil refinery. Since then, *La Prensa*, the leading opposition newspaper, has been routinely censored. All news broadcasts are now reviewed by the government for political content, including those of Radio Catolica, the station of the Catholic archdiocese of Managua.

With regard to religious freedom, the Catholic Church is stronger in some ways than before the revolution. Pastoral work is not interrupted, and priests, nuns, and catechists have no fear for their safety as they did when Somoza was in power. Two priests serve as government ministers and many priests continue to support the Sandinistas. But there is debate within the church over the role of Christians in the revolution—a debate heated by the 1983 Papal visit—and much of the Catholic hierarchy is unsympathetic to the regime.

Although there still are problems to be worked out in the area of civil and political rights, the revolution has brought remarkable improvements in social conditions for the majority of the poor. The government's massive campaign to teach people to read and write has cut the illiteracy rate from 50 percent to 12 percent. A land reform program turned Somoza's land over to peasant cooperatives. Increased medical coverage has reduced malaria and measles and has eliminated polio, winning special commendation from the World Health Organization. A start has also been made toward providing much-needed public housing for the poorer classes.

For these development programs to continue, it is crucial that the conflicts be peacefully resolved, so that no more of Nicaragua's meager resources be channeled to defense.

El Salvador

In February 1981, the Reagan Administration made a strong commitment to the government in El Salvador. The White House had two goals: to "draw the line" against communist expansion, and to prove to the American public that the U.S. was still committed to being a global power.

But the guerrillas were stronger than Washington expected. Also, significant sectors within the Salvadoran military and society proved resistant to U.S. backed efforts at political and economic reforms. And the American public, despite the red flag of a Soviet/Cuban/Nicaraguan threat, recoiled from involvement in a guerrilla war.

Since then, U.S. involvement has increased dramatically but El Salvador is no nearer to peace. If Congress grants the Administration's total aid requests for FY 83 and FY 84, over \$1 billion will have flowed to El Salvador since Reagan took office. Two-thirds of that amount will have been for security assistance, while at most a third has been slated for development aid to help the poor. By the end of 1983 the United States will have trained more than 5,000 Salvadoran soldiers. At least 75 U.S. military personnel

are involved in all aspects of the Salvadoran war except direct combat.

In addition to the military involvement, U.S. embassy personnel have been influential in Salvadoran political life. The United States pushed for and helped design the 1982 Salvadoran elections. It was the U.S. embassy that mediated the appointment of a moderate president when a right-wing coalition prevailed in those elections. Because of U.S. pressure, the date of the next elections was moved up to late 1983, six months ahead of schedule. When dissension broke out among the top Salvadoran military officers in the spring of 1983, the U.S. was the final arbiter over the choice of a new Minister of Defense, the most powerful position in El Salvador.

Political Repression and Reform

El Salvador's current political turmoil is grounded in a half century of political repression by the military and the elite, whose wealth was derived from coffee, sugar and cotton plantations, and from manufacturing. In October 1979, a small group of reform minded military officers engineered a coup and replaced the military dictator, General Romero, with a civilian-military junta. These young officers, fearing that social unrest in the country might lead to a Nicaragua style revolution, hoped to break the cycle of electoral fraud and repression which had so plagued El Salvador.

The hope was short-lived. Unable to control the Salvadoran armed forces or their right-wing paramilitary allies, and therefore unable to implement reforms or curb human rights abuses, all the civilians in top government posts resigned by March 1980. By the end of 1980 even the reformist military officers had been forced out of power.

At the same time a large opposition group was forming. Mass political organizations and small guerrilla groups, which had sprung up in the 1970's when electoral expression had been denied by the dictatorship, came together in a coalition. The group was diverse in both its constituency (which included peasants, workers, slum-dwellers, religious, and professional and university groups) and its political persuasion (from dissident Christian Democrat to Marxist-Leninist). They developed two major structures: a political wing called the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), and a guerrilla military force, the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The task of trying to control the armed forces and to promote reform from within the system was left to those Christian Democrats who chose to remain in the government, led by Napoleon Duarte, and a peasant union, the Union Comunal Salvadoreña (UCS). Since 1981, they have been the only centrist forces allowed to function more or less openly in El Salvador.

At first, the FDR/FMLN exercised its opposition in political actions; strikes, printed calls for an end to repression, and demonstrations. As government repression increased throughout 1980 and the Archbishop of San Salvador was murdered, political action became more perilous. Opposition leaders were killed or "disappeared," newspaper offices and radio stations were bombed, and the leaders of newly-formed peasant cooperatives were shot. The year ended in a series of assassinations which took the lives of the top five leaders of the FDR, four U.S. churchwomen, the director of the land reform program, and two U.S. agrarian reform consultants.

Civil War

After these events, the armed insurgency took hold and began to grow. Soon it controlled certain areas of the countryside and was able to launch occasional attacks into the cities. It was in this context of full-scale civil war that the March 1982 elections were held.

The two major contenders were ARENA, a right-wing party headed by Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, and the centrist Christian Democrats. The Christian Democrats won a plurality of 40 percent, but the right-wing parties formed a coalition and seized control of the Constituent Assembly. In the ensuing months land reform came under attack, commercial and banking reforms were rolled back, and civilian killings increased.

According to the Salvadoran Catholic Church, over 30,000 civilians (noncombatants) have been murdered in the past three years. Despite President Reagan's contention that the government is making progress in

curbing human rights violations, Tutela Legal (the human rights agency of the Archdiocese of San Salvador) reports that over 100 civilians a week are still being killed. According to Tutela Legal figures, 98 percent of the 1,392 civilians murdered during the first three months of 1983 were killed by government security forces or right-wing death squads.

Currently, all press analyses describe the military situation as a "stalemate," with the guerrilla forces dominating about half the countryside and the government controlling the cities.

The alternative to prolonged military conflict in El Salvador is negotiations between all parties in the conflict. The FDR/FMLN has repeatedly announced its willingness to talk with the Salvadoran government, without preconditions, about a political settlement which could include elections. The U.S. has said it would consider dialogue only if the guerrillas lay down their arms and agree to talk within the context of the already-planned elections, with the physical safety of the candidates as the main agenda item. Other key groups, such as D'Aubuisson's ARENA, state that there is nothing to talk about.

Soon, the time when negotiations are possible may be passed. Salvadoran society is becoming increasingly polarized. If the Reagan Administration continues to accelerate U.S. military support to the Salvadoran government while ignoring dialogue as a policy option, a prolonged conflict in El Salvador will be inevitable.

Guatemala

Guatemala has a long history of turbulence and repression. One of its few democratically elected presidents, Jacobo Arbenz, was ousted in a CIA sponsored coup in 1954. The U.S. government had charged that Arbenz' ambitious agrarian reform program was communist-inspired, and acted to overthrow him when his government appropriated, and paid for, land owned by the United Fruit Company, then the largest landholder in Guatemala.

From that time on the military has been dominant, and all but one president have been military men. Amnesty International (AI) estimates that 20,000 civilians were killed or disappeared between 1966 and 1976. Another 5,000 were killed during the regime of General Lucas Garcia, considered to have been one of the most brutal of Central American dictators.

A coup in March 1982 replaced Lucas Garcia with Christian General Efraim Rios Montt. While the White House hailed the new leader as a defender of human rights, AI reported that 2,000 civilians, mostly Indians, were killed by the new government during its first six months in power. AI estimates that at least as many Indians were murdered in Rios Montt's second six months in power.

In addition to those killed, over 100,000 Indians have fled across the border into Mexico, and Guatemalan church officials estimate that another million have become refugees in their own country. The human rights group AMERICAS WATCH concluded recently:

The Guatemalan countryside has become a charnel house, a human abattoir. Those who survive are forced to form civil patrols and must do forced labor. Crops are systematically destroyed so that the only food available to many Indians is dispensed by the army to those who do the dirty work of killing other Indians who are less cooperative.

Despite the human rights record of the Lucas Garcia and Rios Montt government, Reagan has lobbied Congress for funds to supply military aid to the Guatemalan generals. He insists that Guatemala needs U.S. assistance to combat "an externally controlled Marxist insurgency" which threatens the supposedly democratic Rios Montt regime. Military assistance also helps to protect U.S. economic interests. More than 150 U.S. based corporations have investments in Guatemala, including Coca Cola, Texaco, Del Monte, U.S. Steel, and the Bank of America. Guatemala is the only country in Central America with a strategic resource—oil.

In 1981 Reagan allowed Guatemala to buy \$3.2 million in trucks and jeeps by taking those items off the Commerce Department's list of military equipment that was not supposed to be sold to governments who violated human rights. Nine months after Rios Montt came to power, the administration ended a five-year embargo on military aid to Guatemala by approving the sale of \$6.2 million in spare parts of armed forces helicopters. Both were transactions which did not require explicit Congressional approval.

Now, Reagan has asked Congress for \$10 million in direct military aid to Guatemala for FY 84 and FY 85. So far, Congress has refused to approve the funding, but it is weakening in the face of Administration pressure.

Honduras

Except for Haiti, Honduras is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. Of the rural inhabitants who make up three-quarters of the population, 50 percent have an annual per capita income of only \$60 and another 40 percent have incomes of about \$135. Only the North Coast region of banana plantations enjoys a thriving economy, and that area has been dominated throughout this century by foreign—mainly U.S.—fruit companies. Of the 70 subsidiary industries in Honduras belonging to transnational corporations, 60 are U.S. owned.

Military dictators ruled Honduras from the early sixties until 1980, when under pressure from the U.S., the

general in power finally allowed elections for a Constitutional Assembly. In November 1981, Hondurans elected their first civilian president in 20 years, Roberto Suazo Cordoba. The message of the popular vote was clear: Hondurans desired democratic change without violence.

Unfortunately, the military leaders were not ready to quit the political arena. Before the elections, they extracted an agreement from the civilian political parties that the military would have sole authority over issues of national security. General Alvarez, chief of the armed forces, has used "national security" to justify Honduran involvement in the Salvadoran war, military assistance to the counterrevolutionaries along the Nicaraguan border, and increasing internal repression.

Funding the Honduran Military

The United States has helped the armed forces to consolidate their authority by increasing security assistance to Honduras from \$3 million in FY 80 to a proposed \$81 million in FY 84. In contrast, development assistance has decreased from \$46 million in FY 80 to a requested \$32 million in FY 84. Since late 1980, the U.S. has been helping the Honduran Air Force to improve its capabilities so that it is now the strongest air force in the region. Almost 300 U.S. military personnel were operating in Honduras in June, 1983: 230 advisers, 60 radar site personnel, and a six-person military group connected with the embassy.

The reason for the massive increase in U.S. security assistance is Honduras' strategic location between El Salvador and Nicaragua. One hundred twenty of the U.S. military advisers in Honduras are used to train Salvadoran soldiers at a U.S. funded base. The arrangement was worked out between the Pentagon and the Honduran military high command, without consulting the Honduran national assembly. Twice in 1982 and again in February 1983, joint military exercises involving thousands of U.S. and Honduran troops took place just 25 miles from the Nicaraguan border against a mythical enemy named "Red Army." Media sources have documented that equipment used during the joint maneuvers has found its way into the camps of paramilitary groups launching attacks against Nicaragua.

By shoring up the armed forces the U.S. has helped to further weaken the civilian government. The military has

increased its internal repression. Brutality by the intelligence and security forces has become commonplace. Unions, traditionally strong, have been subjected to increasing persecution and harassment. The Honduran Human Rights Commission has reported increasing acts of torture and disappearances, as well as the formation of right-wing, paramilitary "death squads," a new phenomenon in Honduras. While nowhere near the scale of human rights violations in Guatemala or El Salvador, the pattern of these developments is alarming.

In the past year there have been several violent incidents carried out by leftist groups. However, most of the opposition to the military repression has come from non-violent peasant groups, unions, legal associations, and teacher and student groups. A continued surge of U.S. security assistance will strengthen the Honduran military and could undermine the fragile hope that Honduras might escape the spiral of violence that so characterizes Central America.

Resources

Under the Eagle: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean by Jenny Pearce (London: Latin American Bureau, 1981). Excellent background book.

Cry of the People by Penny Lernoux (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1980). The best and most readable book on the Church in Central and Latin America.

El Salvador: The Face of Revolution by Robert Armstrong and Janet Shenk (South End Press, 302 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA 02116; \$7.50). Best comprehensive history of El Salvador, 1932-1982.

What Difference Could a Revolution Make? by Joseph Collins, Frances Moore Lappe and Nick Allen (Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1885 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94103; \$4.95). Reports on the first three years of the Nicaraguan revolution, emphasizing the condition of the rural poor and the issue of hunger.

Guatemala in Rebellion: An Unfinished History edited by Fried, Gettleman, Levenson and Peckenhart (New York: Grove Press, 1983). Collection of articles presenting a detailed overview of Guatemala's history and current situation.

Audio Visual Resources

Central America: Roots of the Crisis. 25-minute slide show overview of conditions in and U.S. policy towards El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. American Friends Service Committee/Latin America Program, 1502 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7100. Purchase: \$50. Rental: \$15/week.

Rises in December. A poignant 55-minute documentary produced for PBS. Chronicles the life of Jean Donovan, a Catholic lay worker, murdered in El Salvador in 1980, along with three other U.S. churchwomen. First Run Films, 144 Bleeker St., NY, NY 10012. (212) 673-6881. Rental: \$100.

Organizations

Americas Watch Committee, 36 West 44th Street, New York, NY 10036. This human rights monitoring group produces the best analyses of human rights in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala.

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. Central America Hotline, (202) 483-3391, gives the latest information on legislation. "Legislative Update," published every three weeks, provides in-depth coverage of Congressional action on Central America (\$20 per year).

Interreligious Task Force on El Salvador and Central America, Room 633, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115. Produces model liturgies, religious action suggestions and recommendations for worship programs on Central America.

Washington Office on Latin America, 110 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002. Church-sponsored research and advocacy group.

Written by Cindy Buhl, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, and Carla Roth, United Methodist Church, Women's Division. Thanks to the following individuals and organizations for their research, resources, and information: American Friends Service Committee, NARMIC, Americas Watch Committee, Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Washington Office on Latin America, Heather Foote, Bill LeoGrade, John McAward, Valerie Miller, Reggie Norton, and Richard Scobie.

The Contadora Group

The President has asked Congress to endorse and fund a military oriented policy in Central America which, according to statements by Administration officials quoted in the *New York Times*, "will take two to seven years to show any significant progress..." The President argues that to do anything less would be to abandon our allies in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.

An alternative policy, however, has been offered by U.S. allies in Latin America and western Europe. These nations, known as the "Contadora Group," have proposed plans that might lead to political and diplomatic solutions to the conflicts ripping Central America apart.

The core members of the Contadora Group are Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama. Its proposals have received the backing of the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Peru, Brazil, Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Portugal, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Canada. These countries believe that prior to the region-wide discussions favored by the Reagan Administration, bilateral talks must be pursued to resolve the most dangerous and escalating conflicts.

To halt the wars along the Nicaraguan borders, the Contadora Group is calling for country-to-country talks between Nicaragua and the United States, Nicaragua and Honduras, and Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

To end the war in El Salvador, the Group recommends negotiations without preconditions among the conflicting groups within El Salvador. However, as long as the U.S. refuses to support or participate in the type of discussions proposed by the Contadora Group, any attempt to find a lasting political solution is severely handicapped.

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THE PORTABLE THOMAS JEFFERSON: Includes "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" and "Notes on the State of Virginia." Also the Declaration of Independence, draft constitution for Virginia, opinion on the constitutionality of a national bank, first inaugural address and letters to George Washington, James Madison, John Adams, John Jay and others. \$6.95.

THE BIG SLEEP: Raymond Chandler's famous story about detective Philip Marlowe, who finds himself hired by an eccentric, paralyzed California millionaire in a case of blackmail, but gets involved in something even more ugly. \$2.95

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THE PORTABLE MARK TWAIN: Huckleberry Finn and the Mysterious Stranger complete. Selections from A Connecticut Yankee, Pudd'nhead Wilson, the Autobiography and other works. Letters, essays, and The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County. ~~\$6.95~~ ~~55~~ ~~00~~

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CHESAPEAKE: James A. Michener. This is, of course, the book that was the first work of fiction in ten years to make it to the number one spot in the New York Times's best seller list. But its subject matter gives it even greater appeal to those in the Washington area. A fine novel and a way to learn more about our bay. ~~\$3.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~00~~ ~~1.00~~

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THE RIF SURVIVAL HANDBOOK: How to Manage Your Money if You're Unemployed. John May has written a book about the money side of unemployment and the search for a new job. It shows you how to organize yourself to make ends meet, to handle your cash to gain confidence in yourself and to free yourself to concentrate on what's really important: finding a new job. Covers the field from budgeting to borrowing to bankruptcy. John May is president of a financial planning and management consulting firm that advises government and private organizations. He has run RIF seminars at agencies and organizations for workers losing their jobs. ~~\$4.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~00~~

THE ESSENTIAL EARTHMAN: Henry Mitchell on Gardening. This is not just another book on gardening but the thoughts of an enthusiast who comes to the subject with reverence, passion, humor and a sober knowledge of human frailty. The Essential Earthman believes, for example, "a lawn 17 by 20 feet is just fine, if you think a lawnless life is not worth living *** But I suspect many gardeners would do well to think of something besides grass and the little noisy juggernauts you cut with." This is a collection of many of Mitchell's most popular pieces from the Washington Post. ~~\$12.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~48~~

THE NEWYORK TIMES BOOK OF HOUSE PLANTS. The classic guide to house plants. ~~\$6.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~44~~

THE THIRD OLD HOUSE CATALOGUE: The essential where-to-get-it and how-to-use-it guide to restoring, decorating, and furnishing the period house. Featuring 6000 completely new and useful products, services and suppliers. ~~\$2.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~47~~

CARING FOR YOUR UNBORN CHILD: This guide tells you what you need to know about the healthy progress of your baby during pregnancy, provides accurate, detailed information on what harmful substances to avoid and suggests how to make the most of the experience of carrying your child. ~~\$2.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~00~~ ~~1.00~~

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GROWING POWER OF THE ABSENTEE BALLOT

Mary Ellen Leary



SACRAMENTO -- The postman's ring is signaling a new style in democracy in some parts of the country. Voting by mail has vastly expanded voter participation in several states, most dramatically in California.

The trend has set both national parties to pondering how they might benefit in 1984 by broadening access to absentee voting nationwide. But voting from a distance can also frustrate precinct bosses -- and TV network trend-spotters -- who like to check out who shows up at the polls. And the U.S. Justice Department is worried about the possibilities of fraud or coercion.

California opens the absentee process to literally everyone. Before each election, every California voter receives a sample ballot describing precisely what is to be voted on (few states are this helpful) and an official request form for an absentee ballot. Any voter who wants to may vote at leisure, and send his ballot back in an official sealed envelope.

This broadened access to mail-in voting, enacted in 1978, has grown in favor. By 1980 one of every 30 voters in statewide elections used absentee ballots. Two years later, one in 16 voted by mail.

"I see a habit being formed," said California pollster Mervin Field. "This convenience is catching on. We now have as many as four out of ten persons voting absentee in some elections, and it is likely that the rate will continue to increase."

One experiment in all-mail voting occurred in 1981 in a San Diego referendum. It drew twice the customary turnout for such tallies -- 60 percent of the electorate -- and the city saved over \$200,000 by cutting out poll-watchers and precinct rentals.

But two elections in San Francisco this year marked a new era in the use of absentee votes, according to Field. In the spring, supporters of Mayor Diane Feinstein, fighting a recall, pushed hard for absentee votes. Over one third of all votes cast came in by mail, and these favored Feinstein by a margin of

nine-to-one. Even more striking, Field thinks, was a special election in June to fill a Congressional vacancy. Though there was no special push for absentee ballots, 26,500 of the 81,000 votes cast were mailed in.

The biggest surprise of all came in last year's California gubernatorial election, when Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles actually won at the ballot box, but lost the election because Republicans staged a concerted drive for partisan absentee voting. George Deukmejian won by a narrow 96,000 votes of 7.7 million cast. His 302,000 absentee votes -- 113,000 more than Bradley got -- pushed him into office.

The significance of this victory was not lost on either party. Brian Lundy, director of the '84 campaign for the Democratic National Committee, has already ordered a survey of absentee ballot rules in all 50 states. "We expect Republicans to take advantage of this means of increasing their vote, and we will do everything we can to match their absentee turnout," he said.

Crucial to this partisan interest is the chance to mesh absentee vote encouragement with direct mail political propaganda. The postman not only delivers the ballot, he also delivers political appeals shaped for the recipient, with all the special focus computers today make possible.

In California last year, Republicans blanketed the likeliest GOP voters with an estimated 2.5 million pieces of literature extolling the candidate -- and urging the use of absentee ballots. Although all voters receive absentee applications routinely, the Deukmejian headquarters enclosed such forms in their literature.

Absentee voters historically have favored Republicans, though rest-home residents have recently added a parcel of voters not so reliably conservative. Democratic Party officials recognize that many less sophisticated voters like the experience of walking into the

polling place and casting a secret ballot. But they believe that in some locations where polling places seem hostile territory, the use of absentee voting might greatly increase minority participation.

One obstacle to a nationwide absentee campaign is the multiplicity of state regulations. For instance, Wisconsin accepts applications up to 30 days before the election, but Michigan requires 70 days. Absentee voters in Georgia must be actually out of state; in Kentucky they need a doctor's certificate. Some states specifically permit a third party to deliver absentee ballots to the clerk, an option others expressly forbid.

In Illinois, where absentee ballots from Republican districts have often been mysteriously delayed, concern about fraud is widespread, and a court has voided "a ballot voted outside the booth."

Two contrary trends can be observed in all this, according to Dr. Gary Greenhalgh, director of a clearinghouse on election administration for the Federal Election Commission. "I favor the liberality of California's approach," he said. "But what

I see occurring instead is an increasing worry over election abuse. Some states in the south which opened their process a few years back are now adding restrictions, fearful of fraud."

In California, access to the franchise hangs on an opinion expected this fall from the state Supreme Court. A San Diego citizen has charged that the all-mail election threatens constitutional guarantees of a secret ballot. Secretary of State March Fong Eu, a strong advocate of mail voting, has asked the court to find use of the mails acceptable.

If there is no adverse court ruling, the state will witness the most aggressive drive in history to get absentee ballots this winter. Governor Deukmejian has called a special election December 13 to decide on a Republican-backed reapportionment plan, which will set the pattern for electing state officials for the rest of the decade. Both parties are expected to mount enormous drives to encourage voting by mail in this election.

County election officials anticipate a strong response -- they are buying supplies in the expectation that at least 30 percent of all votes will be cast by absentee ballot.

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A California firm has invented the world's smallest video camera. The Cicon company's camera takes pictures as clear as any full size model, but also fits in the palm of your hand. The camera costs between \$8000 and \$15,000. If Cicon had only been a little faster we might have been able to watch reruns of the Watergate White House tapes on our Betamax.

Entering freshmen at Stevens Institute of Technology in New Jersey and Clarkson College of Technology in New York are the first in the US who will be required to buy computers from their school as a condition of enrolment. The students at Clarkson will have to pay \$200 a term for the computers which they'll own after four years. But if they drop out or transfer before that, they lose the machines.



SAM SMITH

ABOUT FACE ON METRO: It's buried in an editor's note but the Washingtonian -- at least the Jack Limpert part of it, is having, after all these years, doubts about the cost of Metro. Said Jack in the October issue: "we took a simple problem (downtown rush-hour traffic) and solved it with a program (the 101-mile Metro system) that, while useful, is too big and expensive." There's no hint of mea culpa in the piece, but I'll take conversion with or without confession, so welcome aboard, Jack.

STATEHOOD TO HILL: Just for the record, the statehood constitution has gone to the Hill and Delegate Fauntroy is expected to introduce statehood legislation to be referred either to his subcommittee and/or to several others. No early action is expected from a Congress that wouldn't mail a letter for you if you asked it, but at least it's there waiting for better times.

PARK CENTRAL TO GO: One of the important but little noticed problems of DC has been the steady demolition of moderately-priced hotels. Neither Walter Washington nor Marion Barry lifted a finger to stop this even as they were prattling about the importance of hotel space in the city as justification for the convention center. Now another of these institutions is about to bite the dust -- the Park Central Hotel at 18th and Penna. NW, to be replaced by a new office building for the World Bank.

YOU CAN'T TRUST THE PRESS: I got my annual notice to renew my press pass the other day from the Police Department. It was written, as always, in the charming literary style of the force -- an imperative in every sentence and a prohibition for every imperative. But what was different this year was that not only is there a \$10 fee, but the letter states that "no personal or company checks will be accepted." Only certified checks, money orders or cash. Since most of the rest of the city government accepts ordinary checks -- beginning with the Department of Finance and Revenue, it would appear that police paranoia has broken new ground. Or perhaps -- more frighteningly -- this is only a test run -- to see whether the government can switch to an all-certified check policy for everything. You have been warned.

CHEVY CHASE LUNGE: News that the Chevy Chase Lounge, a sainted neighborhood hang-out, is being hit with a 300 percent rent increase is more than a little startling. Such developments are common near Metro stops, but it is something of a shock that the developer go-go gang has gotten all the way into Chevy Chase -- a good mile from the nearest Metro. My current feeling is that one day we will wake up and find ourselves totally surrounded by boutiques, expensive singles-bars, automatic tellers, airline ticket offices and Hallmark card shops. And we'll have to drive to Kensington to find a drug store or a cheap drink. We may be the first American city where you can't purchase a toothbrush.

TIVOLI NAMED LANDMARK: The DC Joint Committee on Landmarks has designated the Tivoli theatre at 14th & Park Road as an historic landmark, which puts a crimp into the DC government's plans to tear it down in favor a shopping center.

RIGHT TO SHELTER INITIATIVE DRIVE: Members of the Community for Creative Non-violence have launched a drive for an initiative that would guarantee in law the right

to adequate shelter, the identification of those in need of shelter and provision of such shelter. Info: 332-4332

SPEEDY TRIAL RULING: In an important case marking unusual court intervention here into the issue of speedy trials, the DC Court of Appeals has overturned the felony murder conviction of a man on the grounds that it took 25 months to bring his case to court.

ANTI-CRUISE/PERSHING PROTEST: The Ad Hoc Coalition for Euromissiles Actions is sponsoring a rally and fair on Oct. 22 to protest the Cruise and Pershing II missiles. The rally and information fair will be at Lafayette Park starting at 1pm. Then a human chain will be formed at the White House at 2 pm. Info: 234-2000.

BENEFIT FOR COALITION TO END WAR: There will be a benefit concert and dance performance with the Wallflower Order and El Grupo Raiz on Nov 4th to benefit the November 12th Coalition to End the War in Central America and Carribean. The benefit will be held at the Departmental Auditorium, 12th & Constitution NW. Tickets are \$10. Info: 234-2000.

BARRY SCHOOL PLOY BUMPED: Once again Mayor Barry has been called out trying to mess in school system business. His latest attempt was an effort to cut the school budget \$7 million. The school board took him to court and Judge George Mitchell issued a temporary restraining order, saying the mayor had "exceeded his authority." Mitchell also said he was disturbed that the mayor had not consulted with the city council on the move and noted that "the people had no say in whether children would get less in the budget." Barry reacted to the court decision with typical grace: "Any deficits for fiscal year 1983 are no longer my responsibility."

DRAGNETS CONTINUE: The Washington Post downplayed the story, but the Barry administration dragnet-approach to crime fighting, which shows precious little regard for civil liberties, continued last month, with several hundred persons being stopped at roadblocks without cause so the police could arrest 81 people for mostly minor drug offenses.

[Please turn to page 24]

Our Endorsements

INITIATIVE #11: RHODES TAVERN: VOTE YES

This initiative would put the city on record in support of the preservation of Rhodes Tavern and make it official city policy to pursue such preservation. It may not work, but our thinking is that, even for Oliver Carr, thinking about the buck has to stop somewhere -- and maybe this is it.

WARD SIX SCHOOL BOARD: BOB BOYD

A former PTA president and executive director of Citizens for Public Education and present vice president of Parents United for Full Public School Funding, Bob Boyd is precisely the sort of person who should be on the school board. He would be an excellent replacement for the lacklustre incumbent, John Warren. (P.S.: To volunteer in his campaign, call 544-5332)

AT-LARGE SCHOOL BOARD: EUGENE KINLOW

Kinlow's opponents include a radiologist who wants to make Christian morals the basis of education, the irrepressible sexual freedom advocate Dennis Sobin, a taxi driver who wants to give teachers' psychological tests and a retired government employee who would eliminate school board salaries and extend the school year by a third. Kinlow has not been one of the best members of the board, but neither has he been one of the worst and, in such a field, he's worth giving another term.

Killing a movement cont'd. . .

make them feel sufficiently bad, you might want to go a step further and physically maim yourself. For example, you might shoot yourself in the foot. Screaming in pain, you then demand that your colleagues drop whatever they are doing and rush to aid and comfort you as you suffer from this needless and self-inflicted wound.

FOUR: ADOPT IMPOSSIBLY HIGH AND RIGID STANDARDS OF PERSONAL CONDUCT, NOT ONLY FOR YOURSELF, BUT FOR OTHERS TOO. Human frailty has no place in a citizen movement. Whenever it rears its ugly head, you must be prepared to smash it to smithereens. Even slight deviations from your standards must not escape punishment. If, for example, you catch a nutrition activist eating a hot-dog in a fast-food restaurant, condemn him on the spot for the Judas that he is (neglecting, of course, to mention that you popped in to buy a pack of cigarettes.)

FIVE: MOTIVATE OTHERS BY APPLYING GUILT. In a group working to save endangered species, attack it for its insensitivity to the poor. If they are working to help the poor, attack them for their insensitivity to endangered species. Whatever you do, stick them in a no-win situation. Once they perceive that their work is futile, they will, of course, redouble their efforts.

SIX: TALK A LOT ABOUT THE NEED TO COOPERATE AND TO SHARE, BUT FOR HEAVEN'S SAKE, DON'T ACTUALLY DO IT. What you actually should do is attempt to dominate all proceedings through the force of your intellect and personality. However, should you encounter other persons who are foolish enough really to cooperate and share, by all means take them for everything they're worth.

SEVEN: GET YOURSELF INTO A DITHER AND STAY THERE. Become over-excited. Remember, the end of the world is coming and we haven't got much time. Thus, to demonstrate dedication, everybody should run about like a chicken with its head cut off. If some people in the movement are striving to work calmly and deliberately, making them agitated and anxious should be your priority task.

EIGHT: WHATEVER YOU DO, NEVER SHARE ANY CREDIT. Look, it's perfectly clear that the whole thing was your idea in the first place. And nobody, living or dead, contributed anything really important to you. So why should you share the credit? If, through some terrible

miscarriage of justice, other people in the movement begin receiving credit, try to grab it from them. Or try spreading the word that they really don't deserve it. If these techniques don't work to your satisfaction, fly into a sick rage and kick nearby objects, or people. Please note: Regrettably, there's no guarantee that these techniques will actually divert credit and recognition away from others and toward yourself. However, such techniques are almost certain to detract from what pride and joy the recognition might give those receiving it. This is a small pleasure, to be sure, but by this time you will have learned not to sneeze at small things.

NINE: REMEMBER THAT INTENSITY OF COMMITMENT IS BEST MEASURED BY THE AMOUNT OF INCIVILITY YOU DISPLAY. Here again, little things mean a lot. For example you should never be on time for meetings. But when you do arrive, be sure to get interrupted by telephone calls at least once every five minutes. The rest of the time should be consumed by your talking as loudly as possible in accusatory tones. The thrust of your comments should never vary. Again and again, you must make clear that both the truth and the democratic process will be gravely damaged unless you get your way. Throw a wild card or two into the agenda and insist that old questions which have previously been resolved be re-opened. Having made these comments, leave the meeting early without helping to clean up the coffee cups or put the room in order. Now these are fine points, I know, but if you are going to kill off a social movement, you might as well do it in style.

TEN: LASTLY YOU MUST AVOID DOING ANY REAL WORK FOR THE MOVEMENT WHILE CREATING THE WIDESPREAD IMPRESSION THAT YOU ARE GIVING YOUR ALL. Scrupulous fulfillment of these ten rules will demand all your time and energy, so none will be left to fulfill any duties to the movement. But don't let this stop you from assuming as much responsibility as you can get. Insist on being part of everything. If possible, try to be put in charge. Then take great care not to deliver on any of your obligations and commitments. Should others have the gall to point out the discrepancy between your responsibility and your performance, observe in hushed and sorrowful tones how painful and demoralizing this is to you, especially after all you've done. Then nail them to the wall by asking this key question: Don't they realize that we've all got to stick together?

Byron Kennard was the National Chair of Earth Day 1980 and Vice Chair of Sun Day 1978. In 1982 he received an Environmental Leadership Medal from the United Nations Environment Programme for his contribution to the cause of the environment. He is the author of 'Nothing Can Be Done, Everything is Possible' (Brick House, \$9.95.) This article appeared originally in 'Not Man Apart.'

CHARLES McDOWELL

WASHINGTON — Sam J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina spent 32 years as a trial lawyer, judge and storyteller before he experimented with being a U.S. senator. Twenty years was enough of that, and he retired to his hometown of Morganton in the foothills of the Blue Ridge.

His chairmanship of the Senate committee that investigated Watergate had made Ervin a national folk hero, and he became a busy lecturer. He spoke on Watergate or the Constitution or the Bible, and was never impressed by the superficial notion that these were very different themes. He was enlisted as a lawyer in some heavy national controversies, and he taught classes, and he lent himself to good causes, and he made an American Express commercial, and, meanwhile, he wrote a remark-

ably clear and concise book about Watergate — "The Whole Truth: The Watergate Conspiracy."

Now, at the age of 86, the retired senator has found time to write another book. This one is called "Humor of a Country Lawyer." With thanks to the author and the University of North Carolina Press, I offer a sampler.

★ ★

A man came to Ervin's law office in the old days and said he wanted to divorce his wife because she talked all the time.

Ervin asked him what she talked about.

The client replied, "She don't say."

★ ★ ★

For as long as they could remem-

ber, a mountaineer couple had wanted a chiming grandfather clock. When the last child married and left home, they could afford their dream. So they "pooled his earnings from occasional runs of his still and her butter-and-egg money" and bought the clock.

Together they sat up and listened to it chime in the night, and then the wife went to sleep. The husband was still awake when it struck 12 — and when, something gone haywire, it struck in rapid succession 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18.

The husband roused the wife, saying, "We've got to do something quick. It's later than I've ever knowed it to be."

★ ★ ★

Three of Morganton's good old boys, who "sometimes drank a little

too much corn liquor," were in an old Ford that ran off the road and crashed. Two were sent to the hospital, but one was able to be interviewed at the scene by the chief of police.

"Who was driving the Ford when it ran off the highway?"

"Fore God, Chief," he replied, "fore God, I don't know. The last thing I remember, all of us were riding in the back seat."

★ ★ ★

Because of a boundary dispute, a terrible thing among mountaineers, neighboring farmers named Uncle Jimmy Mull and Bartlett A. Berry did not speak to each other for 10 years.

Then, one day, Uncle Jimmy was plowing near the disputed line when Bart Barry approached him and said, "Morning, Jimmy."

Uncle Jimmy said, "What do you mean speaking to me after these years of silence?"

Bart said, "I've just come to tell you I'm going to run for sheriff this fall on the Democratic ticket, and I

don't want you or any of your folks to vote for me."

Uncle Jimmy stood on principle, saying: "Me and my folks have been voting the straight Democratic ticket ever since Andy Jackson ran for president. If you don't want me and my folks to vote for you, you'll have to keep your damned name off the Democratic ballot."

★ ★ ★

The book has a lot of Watergate stories. Ervin still sees it more clear-

ly than anybody else, and connects it to life in the real world.

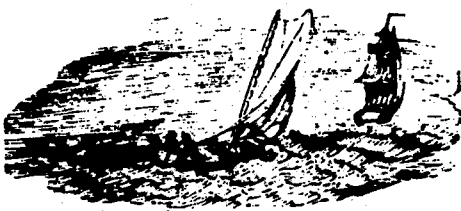
He notes, for example, that of all the lawyers convicted of Watergate crimes, only two actually practiced law. All the others were "political lawyers." It reminded Sam Ervin of a candidate in North Carolina who was told by a citizen that he would never vote for a lawyer for public office.

The candidate patted the citizen on the shoulder and said, "If that's all you've got against me, you can vote for me with a clear conscience. I'm not enough of a lawyer to hurt."

[RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH]

TOPICS

Sam Smith



They reacted quickly. Within hours, Bruce Morton was playing it with clichéd sarcasm on CBS. The tone and substance suggested that McGovern was at best a joke. A few days later, the Chicago Tribune weighed in with an editorial headed "Candidate George McStassen" and the Washington Post, in the more measured tones of the extremist middle, suggested that McGovern was an isolationist, irresponsible and, on at least one occasion, "grotesque."

Then Newsweek asked, "McGovern Gets In — But Why?"

Already the McGovern campaign had accomplished something. It had demonstrated again the media's compulsion to implode politics towards a passive center controlled by those that those who control the media deem trustworthy. But beyond politics, the McGovern announcement also reminded us of some of the media's almost bizarre human values.

Such as the belief that it is ridiculous to try something that does not appear to have a high likelihood of success. McGovern was asked on a number of occasions whether he feared ridicule having previously lost so badly to Richard Nixon. He responded, "I feel fully vindicated by history. The people who got humiliated were the victors."

The initial ridicule, of course, came from the media, egged on by cynical Washington political pros. But, as one of the other candidate's campaign managers told Newsweek, "If he's perceived as a man on a fool's errand, that's still inside the [Washington] Beltway, not the world as a whole."

It's going to be something for which well over ninety percent of the Washington press corps is going to have account in the hereafter: how can they treat as buffoonery the the earnest efforts of sane and rational people like McGovern, while at the same time treating with admiration, respect and deference the likes of Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger and Ronald Reagan.

I'm not talking about the terminal troglodytes like Kraft, Will and Kilpatrick. I'm talking about the likes of David Broder who writes of the current president:

"President Reagan's personal character is unblemished in this third year in office."

Unblemished by indifference to minorities, hunger, lack of shelter, sickness, simple equity? Unblemished by taking our troops to battle in two different places without a national consensus? Unblemished by bringing us closer to a world war than we've been for decades?

There was a time, and may be again, when such attitudes and policies were considered manifestations of personal values to be shunned and scorned. But to the Washington media amorality is the surest sign of statesmanship.

It is "hard-headed," "reasonable," "effective," "knowledgeable" and "shows deep insights into the workings of the American political system" — no matter that it is also wrong, lazy, myopic, destructive and possibly a violation of law and the Constitution.

Somewhere in Tom Stoppard's "Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead," one of the characters says "There was a time when we could have said no — but somehow we missed it."

To answer Newsweek's question, the most important reason for McGovern to be in the race is to say no. No to dangerous and futile military adventures. No to nuclear war-mongering. No to lack of real concern about people who are suffering in this country. No to the apathetic, amoral and ad hoc drift of American foreign and domestic policy. That George McGovern may not be the ideal one for the task is easily subject to debate. On the other hand, as Alexander Cockburn and Jim Ridgeway wrote in the preface to an excellent September 27 Village Voice interview with McGovern, "Using McGovern as a benchmark, you can see just how far right the Democratic Party has slithered over the last decade, **** There is scarcely a position outlined by McGovern here to which any of the Democratic candidates, including Cranston, would dare subscribe."

Let's take a look at what McGovern is saying:

- "I think the Democratic Party has to come flat out in 1984 for full employment **** and that we're not going to quit until everybody who wants to work has a job. We'd like to do it through private enterprise, but if that can't be done we'll do it through public investment."

- On Israel: "My views are closer to the Israeli progressives, the moderates. **** I don't agree with the settlements policy at all. I would tell the Israelis, in as blunt terms as I could, as a friendly government, that they just can't do that. **** I think the Israelis ought to be talking to the Palestinians. You have to have to negotiate with your enemies, otherwise you have to go war with them."

- On Lebanon: "I don't want American marines trying to police that religious war in Lebanon. But if the Israelis, Palestinians and Arabs came together in some kind of agreement on a homeland, then I would think we could support an international peacekeeping mission for the next 15 to 20 years."

- On Central America: "If I were president, I would halt that thing in two minutes. I would halt the shipment of American arms into El Salvador. I would stop the naval and ground exercises in Honduras and offshore, and limit whatever presence we have there to diplomacy."

- On housing: "I would favor a one-time government-guaranteed loan of ten percent or less for a family buying a home now for the first time."

- On the nuclear freeze: "If we don't get some negotiations going to work down those stocks [of arms], we have such an enormous arsenal sitting there that one miscalculation and we're going to be gone. ***** I still don't think [the freeze] is as good a process as the strategic arms limitations but I support the freeze."

McGovern has also said that he would cut defense spending 20 to 25 percent, not request any additional nuclear weapons, kill the MX, revive the GI Bill for today's veterans, and revise farm policy.

As things now stand, McGovern program is as specific and as right as you're going to find among the Democratic candidates. Even Jesse Jackson, in his sandwich board campaign for human justice, gets weak on the specifics. Mondale, to be sure, shares a number of McGovern's views including opposition to the MX, B1 and nerve gas, but as he demonstrated in the case of natural gas deregulation he can wilt under pressure. In the case of Glenn, it's just a question of whether he's another Reagan or another Eisenhower. And besides, as the bumper sticker against another astronaut candidate last year said: "What on earth has he done?" For progressives, rarely is there a presidential candidate as sympathetic, honest and experienced as McGovern.

I realize, though, that there are practicalities. It is alleged that all McGovern can do is hurt the less-conservative Mondale against the more-conservative Glenn. There are two responses to that:

- If, as it is also alleged, that Glenn stands a better chance of beating Reagan, then hurting Mondale may have at least a tarnished silver lining.

- The primaries are the only opportunity for those not in the catatonic center to participate in national politics in a meaningful way. If progressives, and others of more than mundane views, fail to exercise this quadrennial option, we

might as well snuff out the candle, go to bed and hope it all blows over. Playing sophisticated political war-games leads one inevitably to a position as amoral as that of those we oppose and criticize. This is written, it is worth noting, in September of the year before the primaries. It was during just such a fall in 1971 that George McGovern garnered 3% in a national poll. In another such fall in 1975 Jimmy Carter received five percent. And in another such autumn in 1979, Edward Kennedy had just announced and was assumed by many to be on his way to the White House. Predicating action on pre-season ceremonies can be hazardous.

While a reasonable case can be made for putting up with Mondale as the best we can get this year and still defeat the Republicans, it is not at all clear why this choice has to be made so early. There may come a time when we will wink at each other as the Democratic candidate glosses over matters of peace, equity and progress in order to squirm into office against a man of clear militarism, privilege and retrograde motion. But if we voluntarily silence ourselves now, the damage may last beyond the next election.

McGovern's candidacy is both courageous and constructive. Whether you support him or not, you should thank him for improving both the options and the oratory of the campaign.

I am still a mugwump. My heart is with McGovern and at least the computational part of my mind is with Mondale. Equity says McGovern, equations say Mondale. I'm confused, but at least now that McGovern is in the race, I'm no longer bored.

SENTENCE REFORM

Mary Ellen Leary

SACRAMENTO, CA -- In a statement that surprised both conservative admirers and liberal critics, California Governor George Deukmejian has endorsed early release for some 16,000 prison inmates here.

His step dramatizes a growing willingness, across the country, to modify prison sentences, set in motion by the convergence of two nationwide trends.

American anger at criminal violence has run up against American tax-cut fever.

There is little question that the prevailing attitude toward criminals is a simple one: "Lock the door and throw the key away." It has seen prison populations in California and Texas rise to more than 36,000 inmates each, and 400,000 nationally -- twice the number a decade ago.

But at the same time, the public has steadily resisted paying the price for adequate, modern prison facilities. And as a result, according to Illinois Governor James Thompson, prison overcrowding is "the single most significant criminal justice issue in the country today."

Even where funds for prison expansion have been authorized, as in New York, Maryland and Texas, the additional space is not expected to keep ahead of the lines waiting in the corridors of justice. California, now putting up tents or prefab cells in some prison yards, contemplates a \$1 billion building plan, with almost half that sum authorized so far. But the new construction won't be ready until 1988 and by then the prison population will nearly double at the current pace.

Meanwhile, 32 states are under federal court order to improve deteriorating prison conditions, and the costs of incarceration are skyrocketing.

These two contradictory impulses -- public vengefulness against the

criminal and public penury over new spending -- threaten an awesome gridlock. The only room for maneuvering out of the deadlock, say many prison experts, lies in a major overhaul of sentencing procedures.

In several states, a movement is underway to do just that, with an eye to imprisoning only those who can fit inside the available penitentiary space, and who seem best suited to be locked up. Lesser criminals are receiving other penalties.

This classifying of criminality is not likely to sweep the country suddenly. To date the movement's most conspicuous success has been in Minnesota, which has applied new sentencing standards for two years. The focus is defined by the state's chief justice, Douglas K. Amdahl, as "an effort to put in prison those who hurt others and have a constant pattern of repeated criminality, with alternative sentences for crimes against property."

The change has meant a 73 percent increase in imprisonment for severe crimes, and a 72 percent reduction in imprisonment for less serious offenses. Minnesota prisons are not bulging, sentences are now more uniform, and there is a strong emphasis on retribution -- getting criminals to compensate their victims.

Pennsylvania, Florida, Utah and Washington have followed suit in drafting new guidelines. Other states are pondering the step, but with less enthusiasm.

The "career criminal" is the main target of the new approach. It provides that, after conviction, the entire record be weighed by the judge according to a specific formula based on the frequency and gravity of offenses. Non-violent first offenders, for example, may

wind up with a few months in the local jail, extended probation, and an order to make compensation. Repeat offenders, or those convicted of assault, have the book thrown at them.

Ironically, it is the very anger at criminality which which is making modification of prison term policies necessary -- sometimes by officials closely identified with "law and order" positions. Not long before his sentence-shortening announcement, Deukmejian, a staunch conservative, pointed out that five years ago California sent 16 percent of its convicted felons to prison, and now sends 34 percent. "That's improvement," he declared. Life sentences are an index of similar developments. California prisons held 1,700 lifers in 1976; today the figure is 3,700, fully 10 percent of the state's prisoners.

Such increases have made the search for prison space imperative. But the resulting interest in sentencing reform is far from a movement to ease up on law-breakers. In fact, to make punishment more certain, some states have moved to "determinate sentencing," in which the initial courtroom sentence fixes a specific prison term, with no time off for good behavior behind bars. Moreover, there is some fear among criminologists that a loss of "proportionality" may result from sentencing changes meant to appease public anger. Rapists have been known to draw prison terms of 100 years while murderers in the same system get 15 years.

Nor is courtroom sentencing reform is the only way to deal with overcrowding. California's move, for

example, is aimed not at sentencing standards, but at reducing the prison crunch by shortening terms for lesser criminals already incarcerated. Likewise, Michigan, Connecticut, Oklahoma and Washington have adopted laws giving prison officials "early release emergency powers." In Michigan, at a certain level of overcrowding, all terms for the non-violent are reduced by 90 days. In Illinois, Governor Thompson, who campaigned for stiffer prison terms, has now approved an early-release plan rather than have federal courts dictate a solution to prison-crowding in his state.

Despite their goal of reducing overall prison populations, each of these plans is consistent with the current emphasis on "selective incapacitation," an approach to the penal system given wide attention by a recent Rand Corporation study. Its author, Peter Greenwood, argues that instead of agonizing over how best to deter all criminals, society ought to concentrate on imprisoning -- and thereby incapacitating -- the worst of them.

In the end, however, the sentencing reform movement probably has less to do with such theories than it does with the collision between "law and order" sentiment and budget-axing. "We are at a point where cost is forcing a trade-off," said James Austin, head of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

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NASA has turned down hundreds of requests from companies and individuals wanting to scatter the remains of clients or loved ones in space.

LIBERALS & CENTRAL AMERICA

Robert F. Drinan, S.J.

Why aren't liberals all over America out in the streets protesting the Reagan Administration's incredibly unwise involvement in Central America?

The White House support of a cruel and unrepresentative government in El Salvador, its belligerent opposition to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, its no longer covert activity in Honduras, and its financing of a brutal regime in Guatemala all add up to an unbelievably wrongheaded return to the worst forms of that gunboat diplomacy which for almost 100 years has caused the people of Latin America to distrust the U.S. government.

Apparently the Congress will continue to finance the Reagan Administration's war by proxies and surrogates in El Salvador. Members of Congress seemingly are afraid to state openly that U.S. interests in Central America are minimal and that the civil wars in that area are not East-West confrontations but the uprisings of peasants who for decades have been cheated and lied to by governments which to some extent have been the creations of the U.S. government. It may be that incumbent Members are afraid that if they defund Reagan's war, the White House will be able to embarrass them politically with the question: "Who lost El Salvador?"

But the escalation of Reagan's war in tiny Central America has reached a point where liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans should cry out for some sense and some rationality. The U.S. Catholic bishops, among many other groups, have urged the recall of

the 55 U.S. military advisers in El Salvador and the termination of the CIA-backed war against Nicaragua.

There are dozens of reasons why U.S. military involvement in Central America is wrong. American interests in that area are not overwhelmingly important. Furthermore, if it is to be involved, the United States generally should be on the side of the insurgents and not on the side of the military or the authoritarian governments. We should remember what Milton Eisenhower said to his brother 25 years ago: "A handshake for the dictators and an abrazo (an embrace) for the democrats."

But the most important reason why the United States should withdraw from Central America centers on the fact that the revolutions going on in that area would take place even if there were no Cuban-Communist intervention in Central America. Those revolutions derive ultimately from the theological and moral changes that have developed in the Catholic Church in Latin America since the close of the Second Vatican Council in 1965. The bishops of South America returned from Vatican II with a new vision of a church directed primarily to the poor and to the powerless. This vision, which emerged dramatically over a period of three years from the gatherings of the 2,300 Catholic bishops of the world, has had a profound impact on the politics of Latin America. The bishops of Latin America met in Medellin in Colombia in 1968 and issued a set of principles and directives which reversed the orientation of the church. No

longer would the church co-exist in silent partnership with the oligarchy and America, so contrary to reality, have prompted it to launch its incredible program to help the enemies of the Sandinista regime. For some two years the intelligence committees of the House and Senate have failed to check an adventure of the CIA which can only end in disaster. Even after Admiral Stansfield Turner, former head of the CIA, denounced the counter revolution in Honduras in April 1983, the Congress was still slow to act. As of this writing, the CIA has funding and presumably permission from Congress to continue its war against the government of Nicaragua until at least October 1, 1983.

Since the Democrats in Congress are to some extent divided over what to do in Central America, it is urgent that U.S. liberals act. It is particularly appropriate that religious groups come forward, since the Reagan policies in Central America are in effect a war against those who, following the mandates of Medellin and Puebla, are seeking to bring about a revolution for social justice.

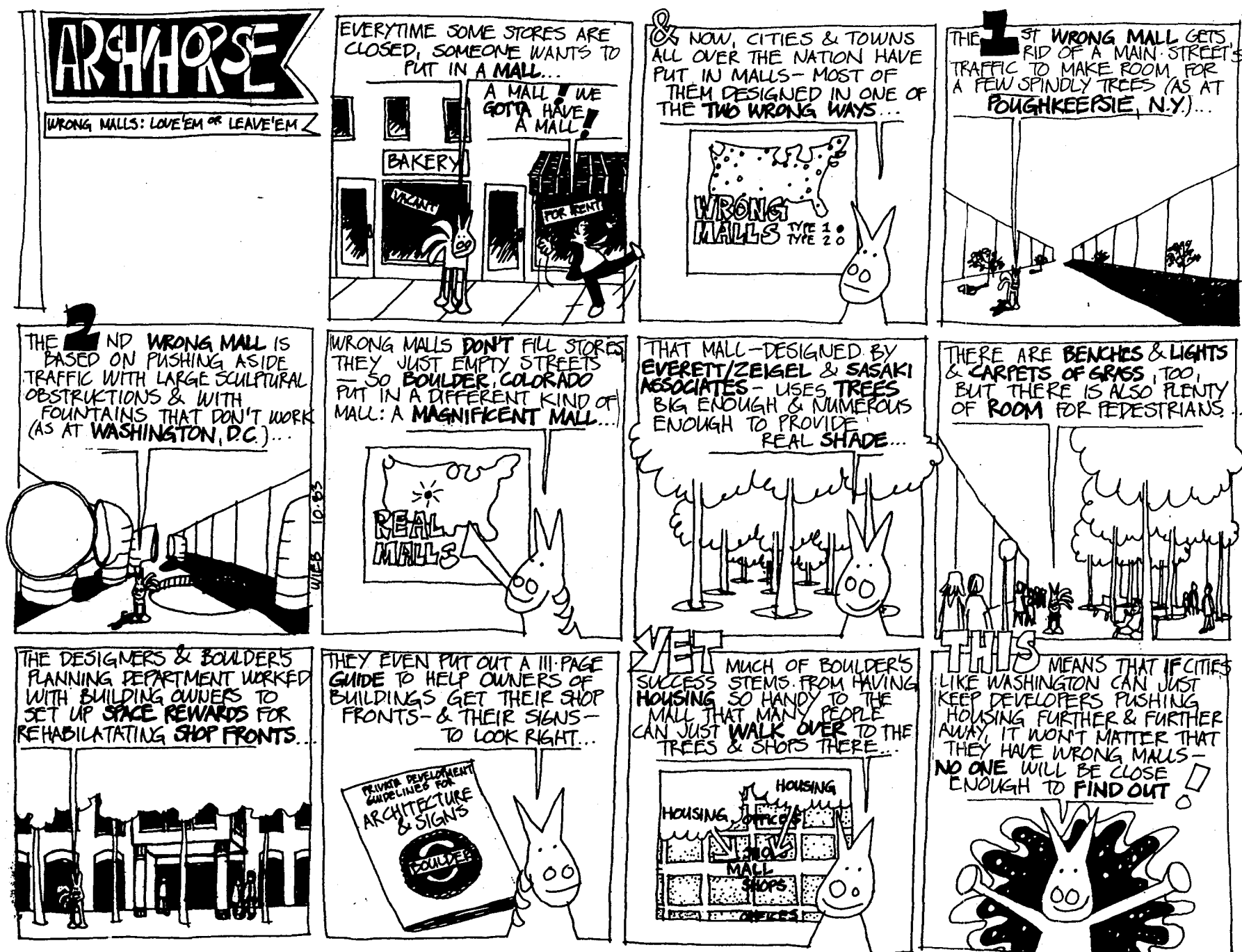
In the recent past I participated in a three-day program in Lima, Peru, attended by spokespersons for all the major democratic forces in Latin America. They were aghast at what the Reagan Administration is doing in Central America. They kept asking those from North America why the American people were letting the White House and the Pentagon get away with what they perceived as a virtual invasion of Central

America by the colossus of the north. Not a few of those present at the Lima conference quoted Mrs. Gandhi, who had said that what the United States is doing in El Salvador is not really different from what the Soviet Union is doing in Afghanistan.

I recently published a review of "Bitter Fruit" by Stephen Kinzer and Stephen Schlesinger, a brilliant account about how the CIA and the Eisenhower Administration in 1954 got rid of the popularly elected Arbenz government in Guatemala. Now the same type of thing is happening again; has the pathological fear of Communism, which we thought had been exorcised, returned?

There are almost countless crises for liberals these days. The challenges to all the policies and programs which liberals have cherished for 50 years constantly require answers. But the U.S. invasions in Central America—clearly in violation of international law and the charter of the OAS—deserve and demand action by every American who believes that the United States should be a government of laws and not of men. □

Father Drinan is a Jesuit priest who became president of ADA when a 1980 papal decree forced him to leave his seat in Congress. This article from 'ADA World.'



Eugene McCarthy

We are indebted to former Vice-President Mondale for an explanation of the failure of the Carter-Mondale administration. The former vice-president is quoted in a recent TIME magazine as saying "Let me tell you, being in the White House without a mandate is pure hell."

The significance of this reality can be understood only if one considers that at least since 1960 it has been recognized that a successful president needs a charisma, an aura (preferable of leadership, although one of invincibility will serve in a pinch), a mandate (or two), and finally, as a last defense, a consensus.

Whereas it was generally recognized that as a candidate, Jimmy Carter had a charisma, even though it was one of relatively low level vitality, not unlike moss on rock, slightly green in the summer and slightly gray in the winter, or like one of the lower forms of animal life, say, it was also recognized that charisma was lost soon after Jimmy Carter was elected president of the United States.

It was, however, believed that he still had an essential aura and a mandate.

But by march of 1978 a long time aura observer, Marquis Childs, announced that President Carter no longer had an "aura" of leadership. Columnist Childs observed that it was not the ordinary problems and trou-

bles of a new president that had caused Mr. Carter's descent in the polls, but rather something which the columnist said "is more complicated than is generally understood." He had lost his aura.

The loss of an aura is not fatal to an administration, but its loss does leave a President in a weakened position, especially if his charisma has faded.

The real difficulty with the Carter administration, we now learn from the former vice-president, was that President Carter had no mandate with him in the White House. Even giving new meaning to the vice-presidency and institutionalizing that meaning, which the former vice-president says was accomplished during the years of the Carter-Mondale administration, cannot make up for the absence of a mandate around the White House.

Without a mandate, evidently, a President had to depend on a consensus. Now a consensus can be useful, but it in no way compares to a supporting mandate. A mandate is more personal than a consensus, somewhat like a one-person dog. It is more loyal, as a rule, than is a consensus, which is much like an aardvark, ill defined and likely to disappear, usually by burrowing into the ground, when the person who has attached himself or herself to the aardvark is

not watching. The attachment between the consensus and its principal is always one-way. It is not mutual.

The difficulty of finding or holding a consensus was demonstrated in a New York Times' story of April 29, which reported that a group of Republican Senators were busy looking for a consensus, while Senator Lawton Chiles of Florida, a Democrat, who, it was implied, might have been able to help the Republicans find the consensus, was hunting wild turkey in Virginia. Whether Senator Chiles was using a voice caller, or one of Lynch's fool-proof-box turkey callers, was not noted in the New York paper. Nor was it noted whether callers used on wild turkeys sometimes attract a consensus or two.

It was, however, the loss of the mandate, or the absence of one, that really hurt the Carter Administration. President's need a mandate or two as medieval kings needed a falcon or two for support and Haile Selassie a brace of lions on a golden chair to sustain his majesty.

According to the former vice-president, President Carter was further handicapped by having "no agenda" to lean on after being elected.

Obviously an Administration which had lost both its charisma and its aura early and which never had a mandate or an agenda to lean on was sure to falter.

DC POLITICIAN'S REPORT CARD

This report card is based on our current information as to positions taken by the mayor and city council on various issues. 1983 grades based on all positions taken this year. Only recent ones or corrections are listed below. Additions or corrections can be sent or called to the Gazette.

1983 SCORES

BARRY	15%
CLARKE	50%
CRAWFORD	50%
JARVIS	11%
KANE	100%
MASON	100%
RAY	50%
ROLARK	37%
SHACKLETON	81%
SMITH	40%
SPAULDING	37%
WILSON	58%
WINTER	33%

Voted to up ceiling for top DC officials to \$63,000 -- an increase of more than \$7000 at a time when city services are seriously cut back.

BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
- - - - + + - - - + + - +

Attempted to improperly cut school budget.
Restraining order issued.

BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
-

Supported roadblocks in order to make dragnet drug and drunk driving arrests

BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
-

Failed to reappoint the highly effective Brian Lederer as People's Counsel before the PSC
BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
-

Set up a citywide network of volunteers with city funds, viewed here as an attempt to expand the Barry machine and to compete with the ANCs
BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
-

Permitted the dumping of chemically treated sewage sludge at Fort Lincoln and on the grounds of St. Elizabeth.
BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
-

Introduced legislation that would speed the parol of less serious offenders when inmate propulation exceeds prison cpactiy
BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
+

Established one-stop licensing center for contractors, developers and homeowners
BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
+

Introduced legislation that would widen access to staff privileges at DC hospitals to health practitioners other than doctors.
BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
+

Introduced legislation that would require manufacturers selling cars in DC to replace defective cars after four unsuccessful repair attempts. Would also extend manufacturer's standard warranty to 18,000 miles or two years. Sixteen other states have similar "lemon laws"
BA CL CR JA KA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN
+

DEALING WITH "INDUSTRIAL POLICY"

Despite an improvement in certain "economic indicators," the future looks relatively bleak for American workers. Left to its own devices, the market appears to be generating too few jobs to employ the thousands of workers who are being idled by recession and by the long run collapse of much of basic "smokestack" industry. Firms specializing in new technology generate too few jobs and usually require advanced degrees for their better paying jobs. Estimates show that about one-third of the new employees for such firms will be engineers, professionals and skilled technicians, while the bulk of added workers will be in low paying assembly and operative occupations.

Firms engaged in mass production find the appeal of foreign countries, with their extremely low wage rates, virtually irresistible. The free movement of capital between countries thus exports both investment and jobs to foreign locations, leaving deep and permanent unemployment in its wake. This damaging impact is abetted by special tax provisions which Congress has adopted in response to corporate pressures. In brief, these provisions encourage investments overseas, treat taxes paid to foreign governments as offsets to corporations' American tax liabilities and foster reinvestment of profit in the country where it is earned.

Effects of Tight Money Policy

Also contributing to the decline of many basic industries has been the devastating effect of the Administrations's tight money policy, with its excessive interest rates — rates which pushed the dollar to artificially high levels as foreign funds flowed to the U.S. The result has been sharply higher prices for American exports and lower prices for imported goods. In turn, exports have continued to fall and imports to rise, trade deficits have grown and hundreds of thousands of American workers have lost their jobs.

Perhaps more disturbing than the general lack of jobs is the **quality** of jobs which are being created in America. The old

manufacturing sector provided lots of "good jobs," offering high pay and benefits for relatively unskilled workers. The emerging economy appears to have an abundance of both "excellent" jobs — high paying, high skill work — and "bad" jobs — low paying, low skill work in either personal services or factory assembly.

The process of market competition has essentially knocked the middle out of the labor market, leaving a society of very high earners and very low earners, with little in the middle. Workers who have lost their jobs in the middle are either shoved down into lower paid, less rewarding work or are trying to claw their way into the smaller number of better paying, high technology jobs. Much of the recent concern for retraining dislocated workers comes from the quite realistic fear that a downward slide is the likely fate of most workers idled by plant closings or job restructuring.

"Industrial Policy" Debate Must Address Jobs

It seems clear that the market will not produce either the quantity or quality of jobs needed to fulfill the reasonable expectations of American workers. So if we are ever to have a full employment economy, some tinkering with the market is essential. Generating adequate work opportunities ought to be a legitimate goal of public policy in this country, as it is in both Japan and the Scandinavian social democracies. With the welfare, dignity and self respect of millions of citizens at stake, the government should not passively embrace whatever level of distress the market creates.

Public intervention in the market is, in fact, an important theme of the current broad debate on "industrial policy," a debate which Democratic presidential candidates, congressional committees and business and labor interest groups are actively pursuing.

This debate **could** take a big step toward producing a national commitment to full employment, but at present the high ground on industrial policy is being effectively occupied by interests with little concern for the issue of employment. Opening up this debate offers great potential for those interested in a fair distribution of jobs and opportunities, especially given the political popularity of and media attention being given to the "industrial policy" issue.

The themes of the industrial policy debate are first, that we need a "vision" of where we are and where we ought to go; and

second, that we ought to "target" public finance and assistance toward those activities which further the "vision." These are extremely useful and important themes, but at present the dominant "vision" is of an American industry which can trounce the Japanese, and the activity being "targeted" is profit maximization through automation and union busting.

Advocates Can Reshape Debate

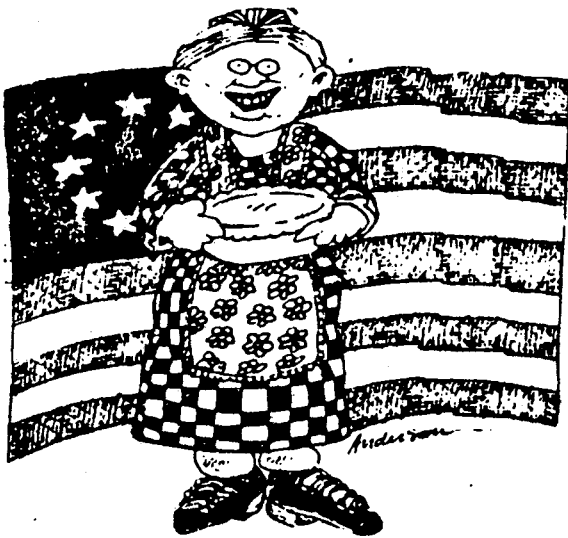
But employment advocates **could** help reshape the industrial policy debate by putting forward a "vision" of a fully employed America and suggesting the "targeting" of those activities which have the greatest potential for generating new, decent jobs. Instead of using public resources to aid the steel industry in buying Marathon Oil, for example, or relaxing anti-trust laws to make it easier for American firms to collude against the Japanese, we could demand additional capital for labor intensive community businesses or argue for more public investment in such human capital improvements as education and training.

As a third step, we must look at the broad range of government policies on taxes, money supply, interest, trade, budget outlays and related issues and analyze their impact on the full employment objective.

We can expect congressional and presidential candidates to be talking a lot about "industrial policy" over the next several months, and local employment activists should be certain to press the candidates on the employment issue.

If we can succeed in refocusing the industrial policy debate away from corporate profits and toward the provision of decent employment opportunities for all who want to work, it would mark a big step forward in our struggle for a decent, fully employed society. If we constantly force candidates to answer the question, "Why should ordinary people care about 'industrial policy?'" we can help put a full employment twist onto an issue which otherwise will become a new excuse for public assistance to corporate America. □

From 'Monitor,' the newsletter of the Community for Community Change



Apple Pie

California scientist Jerome Drexler has developed a laser memory card, which may one day make today's methods of storing information obsolete. Although it looks like a regular credit card, the laser memory card can hold as much as 800 pages of data. Information can't be accidentally erased because it can't be erased at all. And, Drexler says, a fully encoded card will cost less than six dollars.

Experts see a variety of possible uses for the card, which will hit the market in about a year. It would allow you to carry your entire medical history in your wallet, or it could be used as an extra-secure ID card, imprinted with photograph, physical description and voice print.

Walden Pond is now a polluted, garbage-strewn resort invaded by nearly 20,000 people each weekend. Local residents say that's ten times what the area can accommodate and they want the state to ban swimming in the Massachusetts lake. Which shows you what can come of reading a book too literally.

David Phillips, a sociologist at the University of California in San Diego, says the national homicide rate rises an average of 12.5% after a heavyweight prize fight. Phillips based his study on all murders committed during 1973-78, during which there were 18 heavyweight championship bouts. By his reckoning, 193 people died as a result of what he calls "fatal, aggressive behavior" stimulated by the fights. In earlier studies, Phillips documented that suicides and car crashes follow highly publicized news stories on suicide.

Advertisers are being warned to keep it simple when trying to sell their products. One firm found that 43% of consumers don't know what "obsolete" means. And Proctor & Gamble had to drop the word "concentrated" from its detergent ads because too many people thought that meant the Pope had blessed it.

Word processors are supposed to make office life easier. But one law firm found that's not always true. The problem is that the machines make it too easy to revise documents. Some letters were being rewritten up to 40 times before going out.

A Gallup poll has found that 79% of Americans favor nude swimming areas as long as they are separated from regular beaches.

THE GAZETTE GUIDE

Here are some of the progressive organizations and media with which you might want to make contact. Others will be listed in future issues. Please send any additions, corrections or deletions to the DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009.

National media

ALTERNATIVE PRESS GENERAL

WAYS & MEANS, CASLP, 2000 Fla Ave. NW, DC 20009. Bi-monthly publication of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies.

WORKING PAPERS, 186 Hampshire St., Cambridge MA 02139

ALTERNATIVE MEDIA, Box 1347, Ansonia Station, NYC NY 10023

DC GAZETTE, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009 202-232-5544.

YIPSTER TIMES, PO Box 392, Canal Station, NYC NY 10013

SOCIALIST REVIEW, 3202 Adeline St., Berkeley CA 94703

NEWSLETTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT, 853 Broadway #617, NYC NY 10003

RENEWAL PO Box 43241 DC 20010

LEADING EDGE: A BULLETIN OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION, PO Box 42247, Los Angeles, CA 90042

WORKBOOK, Box 4524 Albuquerque NM 87106. Descriptions of different periodicals and resource materials by subject area.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, Medford, MA 20155

THE NATION, 72 Fifth Ave, NYC NY 10011

MOTHER JONES, 1663 Mission St. (2nd floor) San Francisco CA 94103

DIFFUSION: THE NEWSLETTER OF SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS: PO Box 19367 DC 20036

THE JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES PO Box 1248, Ann Arbor Mich 48106

NEW DIMENSIONS MAGAZINE, PO Box 11106 San Francisco CA 94101

LIFERATION, 339 Lafayette St. NYC NY 10012

THE MILITANT, 14 Charles Lane, NYC NY 10014

ORGANIZING NOTES, 201 Mass Ave. NE, DC 20002

THE ORGANIZER, 1638 R St. NW, DC 20009

ALTERNATIVE LIFESTYLES

GREEN REVOLUTION, Box 3233 York Pa. 17402

ALTERNATIVE NEWS SERVICES

HERSAY, PO Box 11010, San Francisco CA 94103

ALTERNATIVE PRESS SYNDICATE, Box 1347 Ansonia Station, NYC NY 10023

PACIFIC NEWS SERVICE, 604 Mission St. #10001, San Francisco CA 94105

COMMUNITY PRESS FEATURES, 100 Arlington St., 2nd flr, Boston MA 02116. Monthly packet of alternative graphics for use in newsletters, flyers or other publications.

COLLEGE PRESS SERVICE, 2629 West 18th St. Denver Colo. 80211

INTERNATIONAL GAY NEWS AGENCY, 511 Capp St., San Francisco CA 94110 415-982-5810

RIP 'N' READ NEWS SERVICE, 88 First St. #302, San Francisco CA 94105.

ALTERNATIVE PRESS GROUPS

WOMENS INSTITUTE FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, 3306 Ross Pl NW, DC 20008. 202-966-7783. Annual directory of all forms of women's media -- periodicals, presses, news services etc., and media concerned women. Also annotated index to Media Report to Women. \$8.

COMMUNITY MEDIA, 1001 Conn. Ave. NW, Suite 507, DC 20036. 223-6220. A non-profit public relations firm providing aid to movement groups.

REPORTERS COMM FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, 800 18th St. NW, #300 DC 20006. 202-232-6600.

RESOURCES, Box 134 Harvard Square, Cambridge MA 02138 617-876-2789

ALTERNATIVE PRESS CENTER, PO Box 7229, Baltimore Md. 21218

COMMITTEE OF SMALL MAGAZINE EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS, PO Box 703, San Francisco CA 94101

ANARCHISM

SOCIAL ANARCHISM, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore Md. 21218

BLACK

AFRO AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 101 North 52nd St., Philadelphia Pa. 19139

NATIONAL LEADER, 1422 Chestnut St., Suite 800, Philadelphia Pa. 19102. A national black weekly.

BROADCASTING

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR BROADCASTING, PO Box 12038, DC 20005

PACIFICA FOUNDATION, 5316 Venice Blvd., Los Angeles CA 90019

CIVIL LIBERTIES

PUBLIC EYE, Citizens in Defense of Civil Liberties, 343 S. Dearborn St. #918, Chicago Ill 60604

FIRST PRINCIPLES, 122 Md. Ave. NE, DC 20002. Deals with how civil liberties are affected by national security issues.

FOOD

VEGETARIAN TIMES, PO 750, Oak Park Ill 60303

ENVIRONMENTAL-ENERGY

NUCLEAR TIMES, 298 Fifth Ave. NYC NY 10001

EARTH ENERGY MEDIA, 535 Cordova Rd. #431, Santa Fe. NM 87501

CRITICAL MASS JOURNAL, PO Box 1538, DC 20013

ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION, 1346 Conn. Ave. NW (724) DC 20036

GAY

ALTERNATE PUBLISHING, 15 Harriet St. San Francisco, CA 94103

GAY INSURGENT, PO Box 2337, Philadelphia Pa. 19103

MOM GUESS WHAT!: 1400 S St. #1008, Sacramento CA 95814

Supporting Subscriptions

In some European countries, small circulation political and alternative journals keep going with the aid of supporting subscribers who contribute a sum in addition to the normal subscription fee to aid the publication in its work. You will note on your renewal form that there is such a category. We hope you will indicate your support of our efforts by subscribing at the supporting rate of \$15 a year rather than the normal fee. This will allow us not only to continue as an advocacy journal, but to carry on various activities which, while desirable, are not particularly cost-effective e.g. reaching public officials and groups that might not otherwise subscribe, subsidizing subscriptions for prisoners and low-income persons, and serving as a resource for groups and individuals seeking social change. We hope you will become a supporting subscriber when you renew, which, incidentally, you can do right now by sending us \$15 and a sample of your mailing label. Mail to DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009. Thank you.

INTERNATIONAL

COVERT ACTION BULLETIN, PO Box 50272 DC 20004
 COUNTERSPY, PO Box 647, DC 20044
 WIN, 326 Livingston St. 3rd floor, Brooklyn NY 11217
 MULTINATIONAL MONITOR, PO Box 19367 DC 20036
 MERIP REPORTS BOX 3122 DC 20010

LEGAL

MOOTER c/o Paul Wahrhaftig, 7514 Kensington St. Pittsburgh, Pa. 15221. A quarterly journal of the Grassroots Citizen Dispute Clearinghouse.

MEN

OPTIONS, c/o Free Men, Box 920 Columbia, Md. 21044

NATIVE AMERICAN MEDIA

AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation via Roosevelttown, NY 13683. Covers Indian affairs across US and Canada.

NEIGHBORHOODS

CONSERVE NEIGHBORHOODS: C/o National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1785 Mass. Ave. NW, DC 20036

POLITICAL

LIBERTARIAN REVIEW, 1404 Franklin St. Oakland CA 94612

RELIGIOUS

MENORAH: SPARKS OF JEWISH RENEWAL, 7041 McCallum St., Phila Pa. 19119

TAXES

PEOPLE AND TAXES, 215 Penna. Ave. SE, DC 20003

WOMEN

THE CELIBATE WOMAN: A Journal for Women Who Are Celibate or Considering This Liberating Way of Relating Others, 3306 Ross Place NW, DC 20008.

OFF OUR BACKS, 1841 Columbia Rd. NW, DC 20009 202-234-8072

WOMENS CHOICE MAGAZINE, PO Box 489 Berkeley CA 94701

AEGIS: Box 21033, DC 20009. Magazine on ending violence against women

YOUTH

YOUTH LIBERATION PRESS, PO Box 524, Brooklyn NY 11215 212-0783-2957

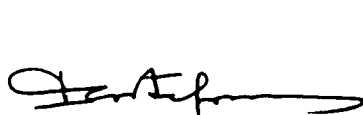
TO BE CONTINUED





Europeans cry “NO!”

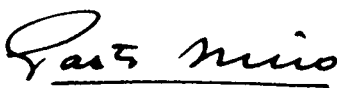
American first-strike weapons on the doorstep of the Soviet Union are the most appropriate fuse for touching off a nuclear world war.

Americans, we beseech you:
 Do not deploy
 Pershing II and Cruise Missiles in Europe!
**For the sake of humankind—
 Don't do it!**



 MARSHAL Francisco da Costa GOMES
 Former President of the Republic of Portugal


 GENERAL (ret.) Michael N. HARBOTTLE
 United Kingdom



 GENERAL (ret.)
 Michiel Hermann von MEYENFELDT
 Netherlands

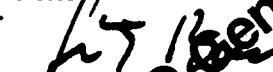

 GENERAL (ret.) Nino PASTI
 Senator of the Republic of Italy


 GENERAL (ret.) Günter VOLLMER
 Federal Republic of Germany


 GENERAL (ret.)
 Miltiades BAPATHANASIOU
 Greece


 GENERAL (ret.) Georgios KOUMANAKOS
 Greece


 ADMIRAL (ret.) Antoine SANGUINETTI
 France


 GENERAL (ret.) Gert BASTIAN
 Federal Republic of Germany


 GENERAL (ret.) Johan CHRISTIE
 Norway


 GENERAL (ret.) Michalis TOMBOPOULOS
 Greece

Former NATO Generals

For further information:
 Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027
 Mobilization for Survival, Midwest Field Office, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233
 Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market Street, Rm. 708, San Francisco, Calif. 94102
 Initiated by: BERLINER COMPAGNE c/o Action Reconciliation, 4820 Piney Branch Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011

CITY DESK Cont'd

PEACE WALKER: Florida conservationist Doug Alderson is leading a walk for peace from California to DC. He expects to be in DC about Oct. 27. Along the 2000 mile route, Alderson says the core group of about 25-50 persons will seek out hundreds of local hikers who may walk for a day, a week or more. An 18-mile-a-day average, sometimes in rain, possibly in snow is necessary to complete the walk on schedule. Walkers have the option of using a morning or afternoon relay shift to cut their mileage in half and support vehicles are carrying heavy equipment and food. For information on how to get involved call the Native Culture and Ecology Research foundation, Tallahassee, Fla, 904-224-4899 or 904-681-0868.

BARRY AND THE UTILITIES: With close allies of the mayor dotting the upper ranks of the local utilities, it came as no great surprise that Brian Lederer, the widely respected People's Counsel, was not reappointed by the mayor. The action, however, points again to the growing problem of runaway utilities that cost local ratepayers about two-thirds of what they pay in DC taxes. ●●●● Moves are afoot to launch a petition drive that would create an elected people's counsel and an elected public service commission, as well as an elected city auditor. This should be the big initiative of 1984, so stay tuned.

BIKE TO WORK DAY: On Tuesday, Oct. 18, thousands of area bicyclists are expected to converge on Western Plaza to celebrate Bike-to-Work Day. Riding in pre-planned convoys, the cyclists will be starting from points all over the city. At the plaza there will live music, speeches and breakfast. To find out where the nearest convoy will be leaving from call the office of the Washington Area Bicyclists Assn., 393-2555.

CHRISTIAN EMBASSY DENIED: The application of the Christian Embassy to take over the mansion at Hillendale has been turned down by the Zoning Commission as not fitting into the guidelines it had previously approved for use of the building.

COMPREHENSIVE PLAN INCHES ON: The Comprehensive Plan is currently in hearing before the city council (more hearings scheduled Oct 18, 20 and 21). Although the plan has been revised and somewhat improved from the initial version, many neighborhood groups retain concern that the plan will affect their area adversely. The key to the plan is the land use map and whether it becomes law. If it doesn't -- and Mayor Barry has asked the council not to enact it as law, court battles will center around the ambiguous language of the plan itself. Making the land use map law is absolutely essential. Among other things it would force city council action on any changes in the land use. The city council, which should be the city's zoning commission anyway, will be making a major surrender if it gives in to the mayor on this.

OLD POST OFFICE REOPENS: The Old Post Office has reopened with all the predictable hoopla and it is, as we suggested a decade ago that it could be, a rather remarkable place. But don't be surprised if it has some rebirth pangs. It strikes us that the shops are too small and the multi-floor arcade without escalators may prove to be a drag. Further, sound reverberates ferociously in the main space.

11TH ANNUAL HISTORY CONFERENCE: The 11th annual DC Historical Studies Conference has been scheduled for Feb. 27-28 at the Martin Luther King Library. Proposals for papers may be forwarded to Howard Gillette, Center for Washington Area Studies, Academic Center T-106, George Washington University, DC 20052.

AUTO INSPECTION HOURS CHANGE: The new hours for auto inspection are now in effect -- 7 am to 3 pm weekdays.

BARRY PROPOSES DC PREFERENCE ON BIDDING: Mayor Barry has submitted legislation to the city council that would give purchasing preference to District-based businesses

seeking contracts from the city government. Five percent would be subtracted from bids or proposals submitted by these firms in comparing their bids with those of other firms.

NEW POPULAR HISTORY OF DC: A popular history of DC in magazine format has been produced by a group of students working on a project sponsored by Neighborhood Planning Councils 2 and 3 and led by Leon LeBuffe. This is an exciting and useful addition to DC literature and you can get a copy for \$2 (plus 40 cents postage) from NPC #2 & #3, 4025 Chesapeake St, NW, DC 20016.

PLANNING COUNCIL ELECTIONS: The biennial elections for the city's 20 Neighborhood Planning Councils will be held October 28 at more than 80 polling places. The NPCs administer programs for youth including cultural, educational and career-oriented programs. All DC residents age 13 and up may vote. For details check with your local NPC or call 576-6457/8/9 or 576-6468.

NEW NORTHWEST BUS SERVICE: Route 39, a new Metrobus service, runs every fifteen minutes in rush hour to and from Friendship Hgts and the Van Ness/UDC Metro station. The route follows Wisconsin, Albermarle, Nebraska, and Connecticut. The route will be discontinued once Metro service is extended to Friendship Hgts.

TAX STUDIES: The latest updates of the various tax studies comparing DC taxes with those in the fifty states, large cities and the metropolitan area, are available in limited quantities. Call 727-6027.

CBs FOR CRIME WATCHES?: A recent story in the Post featured the Warwick Village neighborhood crime watch. Just like many DC communities, right? Not quite. The Warwick Village patrols are connected to a base station by CB radio-- an inexpensive but important aid that we have suggested to city officials but to no avail. Maybe some councilmember would like to take up the cause of CBs for crime watches. They could make an important difference.

DEPOSIT COALITION FORMED: Ten local organizations have formed the Washington Deposit Coalition to educate the public about the need to enact bottle and can deposit legislation. The Department of Environmental Services estimates that bottles and cans are responsible for 30 percent of all litter collected by the city. Members of the coalition include the Audobon Society, Common Cause, Concern Inc., League of Women Voters, Sierra Club and the Washington Area Bicyclist Association. Info: PO Box 11164 Cleveland Park Station, DC 20008, 387-3915.

FDR MEMORIAL VS. MALL BALL: An environmental impact assessment by the National Park Service and the FDR Memorial Commission says the memorial would wipe out 8.8 acres of heavily used playing fields in West Potomac Park. It would also eliminate the road through the park that provides a good vantage point for cherry-blossom watchers. Attractive as the memorial might be--(it is designed as a wandering wall with waterfalls, fountains

The House has approved legislation that would change the nature of federal oversight in DC matters. Presently, bills are sent to Congress where they can be disapproved by one or two of the houses depending on the legislation. Among other things, this has produced lengthy delays in the effective dates of local legislation. Under the House-passed measure, a joint resolution disapproving a DC measure would have to be approved by both houses and signed by the president to become effective. On the face, this appears to be a small step forward in home rule, even though it brings the president into the picture again. The legislation also circumvents possible Supreme Court objections to legislative vetoes.

and sculpture and would be the most expensive memorial in the country), it seems somewhat contrary to the spirit of the man to be memorialized. In fact, it seems unlikely that he would like the idea of displacing part of the playground of Washington for his memorial at all.

PEACE CENTER VIGIL: The Washington Peace Center is holding silent vigils each Friday noon at Dupont Circle. Silent circles are formed at the same time in hundreds of European cities. Additional participants are welcome.

GRANT TO CATALOG LIBRARY OF CONGRESS MATERIALS ON DC: The Cafritize Foundation has given the Library of Congress \$156,000 to produce a guide to its visual resources on DC, which include some 650,000 photographs.

LIBERATION THEOLOGY LECTURE: The first in a series of three lectures sponsored by the Institute of Police Studies's Washington School on the subject of liberation theology takes place on Oct 25 at 8 pm. The lecture will be delivered by Gustavo Gutierrez, a leading Latin American theologian and author of "A Theology of Liberation."

Call 234-9382 for ticket information.



CITY TALK

For those of us who walk to work, the next oil crisis cannot come too soon: Anything that keeps drivers off the streets will boost our chances of surviving on the sidewalks.

That stance may be strident, but four years of commuting on foot have convinced me it is the only sane view a walker can take of his natural foes. The daily acrobatics required to dodge traffic -- a process known as "rush hour roulette" -- suggests that each time a pedestrian steps outside, he dons a cloak of invisibility.

On Walking Allan Fallow

Yet the pleasures of walking far outweigh its perils. For one thing, it puts you back in touch with the landscape; you become a part of your environment rather than a visitor to it. This return to "see level" can yield unexpected dividends: the discovery of a magnolia growing in the neighborhood, or a serendipitous glimpse of the Capitol dome that only deceleration could provide.

"Of all exercises," wrote Thomas Jefferson, "walking is the best." Lest you deem foot power an archaic mode of propulsion, however, I assure you it is tailored to the body-conscious 80s. A 60-minute stroll at a respectable four miles an hour will burn up about 400 calories. By contrast, sitting still for an hour -- on a bus or in the subway, for example -- will consume only 100 calories. These figures explain why the desk-bound among us think trudging 12 blocks a dynamic endeavor.

Having praised preambulation, let me inject a warning: In a society where the mainstream of people travel by means of the internal-combustion engine, voluntarily getting around under your own steam verges on the anti-social. This outlook has prompted several of my car-borne colleagues to deeds of daring: They swerve across lanes of traffic and up onto the sidewalk in a frenzy to rescue me from the rigors of my nightly march home.

You should choose your togs according to the power of your cardiovascular system. As you walk, your pumping legs and heart stoke up your body temperature.

This furnace effect inspired pedestrians to adopt the "layered look" long before it stormed the fashion world: On chilly mornings, an easily sheddable jacket or sweater will keep you warm for the first milé or so -- after that distance, I defy you to leave it on without suffering heat prostration. By the same token, wearing a woolen hat in winter conserves your body heat and spares you the chagrin of freezing solid to the sidewalk.

Sooner or later, every pedestrian must negotiate two hazards: dogs that are visible and dogs that are not. The former make their presence known by snacking on your shins. The latter are more to be feared; they litter the pavements with testimonials to the vigor of the canine digestive tract. In London, the English have made clear the passers-by precedence over the poodle. Every corner lamppost bears a sign that reads "Anyone allowing his animal to foul the footpath shall be subject to a fine of 10 pounds." Perhaps more of our city planners should be Anglophiles.

Historically, certain walkers have gone to extremes in their espousal of the sport. In ancient Greece, for example, Diogenes traipsed throughout the land in search of an honest man. His quest was not unlike the executive-talent searches of today; in the 4th Century B.C., however, the resume and the telephone had yet to be invented, so Diogenes conducted his hunt on foot.

Near the turn of the 18th Century, it was an English traveler named "Walking Stewart" who overdid the ambulation bit. He strode through Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia, the Arabian Desert, India, Iran, Europe and the United States before God decided to rest his soles in 1822.

And in the early 1970s, author Peter Jenkins ("A Walk Across America") set out to tramp from Alfred, New York, to New Orleans, Louisiana. Jenkins took 543 days to complete the journey, and along the way he went thought ten states and 35 pairs of shoes.

**This publication
is available in microform.**

University Microfilms International

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 300 North Zeeb Road | 30 32 Mortimer Street |
| Dept. P.R. | Dept. P.R. |
| Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106 | London W1N 7RA |
| U.S.A. | England |

Commuters today need not emulate these men. Indeed, whether or not you walk to work depends not so much on wanderlust as on luxury: how close you live to your job and how much time you can afford getting there. Many a morning, when faced with the prospect of my 40-minute commute, I am tempted to defect to the legions of strap hangers. When that happens, I renew my incentive by recalling the example of Harry Truman, who at 66 began each day with a 1 1/2 mile jaunt at a crisp 120 paces per minute. "If you are going to walk for your physical benefit," the President proclaimed, "it is necessary that you walk as if you are going someplace." By following such sage counsel, I have made the constitutional an amendment to my day.

[Copy editor Allan Fallow, who admits to occasional hitchhiking, lives 2.2 miles from his office.]



There is no limit to the number of tricks and magical effects that can be performed with the aid of the Magical Coin, also known among conjurers as the Hoo Coin. The coin can be made to mysteriously disappear right under the eyes of the spectators.

Pennies From Heaven

The RLA has approved a nice little deal on Gallery Place with Capital Landmarks Associates (William Fitzgerald, Melvin Lenkin, Vlastimil Koubek) getting the \$2.8 acre site for \$2.4 million now and another \$7.4 million over the next 15 years. Over the past four years, the RLA has knocked 40% off the price it was asking. Meanwhile in the private sector, things aren't quite as cheap. The aforementioned Melvin Lenkin has reportedly agree to pay more than ten times as much -- more than \$1000 a square foot, for the old ABC News headquarters and W&J Sloane buildings on Connecticut Avenue. In other words, Lenkin will be buying these two buildings for over twice as much as the Capital Landmarks Associates is paying for all of Gallery Place. Now, just to make matters more confusing, this is the same Melvin Lenkin who is offering to buy the Portal site, ten acres in southwest, for \$38 million plus 25% of the profits generated by the planned office and hotel complex there. Lenkins' lawyer says there's no comparability between the Connecticut Avenue site and SW. It's a little harder to make the argument about Gallery Place because if that isn't comparable with Connecticut Avenue we've just blown \$100 million on the convention center.

Southwesters are raising increasing questions about the mayor's latest proposed gift to developers, the International Trade and Convention Center, a \$200-million plus complex of chanceries, trade offices and the like planned for Maine Avenue between 7th & 11th St. SW. Among the criticisms are that the center will compete with existing businesses, lead to increases in property values which drive out low and middle-income housing, be yet another white elephant in SW, isolate the highly-regard Jefferson Junior High, increase traffic and create yet another huge office complex bigger than DOT and HUD combined. If you want to get involved in this battle call Brian Moore at 554-4119(h) or 546-9464(o) or ANC2D at 554-1795.

It was, to be sure, back in the real estate section, but the July 30 issue of the Post contains word that a study by a private consulting firm found that the general level of tax assessments of commercial properties sold in DC last year was "substantially below" the market value level.



Roses & Thorns

THORNS TO THE FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE, which is telling its members to boycott hearings of the Civilian Complaint Review Board and has promised to press the city council for abolition of the new board. The board has decided to conduct hearings with or without the cooperation of police officers. In fact, out of some 200 complaints received by the board in eight months there have been only 12 decisions -- four of them going against the cops involved. Says Arthur Spitzer, legal director of the ACLU here: "The FOP's action appears to be a strong-arm tactic designed to force the abandonment of civilian review of police activities. *** The Police cannot be allowed to be the sole judges of their own activities."

ROSES TO JEFFERSON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, named by a panel of education experts and the US Department of Education as one of the nation's outstanding secondary schools. Schools chosen were selected for high performance on tests, low dropout rates and high daily attendance.

ROSES TO THE WASHINGTON PEACE CENTER which celebrates its 20th anniversary this month. If you're interested in getting involved in such issues as the draft, nuclear disarmament and peace studies, give the WPC a ring at 234-2000.

ROSES TO DC COURT OF APPEALS for ruling that DC attorneys leaving government jobs cannot take part in cases "substantially related" to their former work. The case involved two former corporation counsel lawyers who went to work for a zoning law firm -- which has been traditionally the most flagrant and common form of this unethical behavior. The court decision is limited and so far neither the bar association nor city politicians have lifted a finger against the revolving door lawyers, but it's nice to see that at least some restrictions placed on them.

ROSES TO CAROL CURRIE who stepped down this summer as chair of the Citizens Planning Coalition. Carol was one of the leaders in the seemingly endless battle to instill an element of rationality into the city's planning. She has been replaced by William Washburn III, former vice president of the Anacostia Economic Development Corporation.



ZONING MAP: A revised and updated copy of the city's zoning map is now available for \$3 in the Office of the Zoning Secretariat, Room 9A of the District Building.

WPFW-FM FUNDRAISER: Jazz brunch from noon to three pm at Charlies Georgetown, November 13. \$35 a person. WPFW is now the second most listened to public station in the area. Part of the station's emergency need for funds is to meet a right-wing legal challenge to its license. Info WPFW, 783-3100.

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